THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH IDEAS OF ANGELS:

EGYPTIAN AND HELLENISTIC CONNECTIONS
ca. 600 BCE TO ca. 200 CE.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature   Date

(Annette Henrietta Margaretha Evans)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation sets out to test the hypothesis that Egyptian and Hellenistic connections to Jewish beliefs about the functioning of angels facilitated the reception of Christianity. The method of investigation involved a close reading, combined with a History of Religions methodology, of certain texts with marked angelological content. The presence of certain motifs, especially "throne" and "sun/fire", which were identified as characteristic of angelic functioning, were compared across the entire spectrum of texts. In this way the diachronic development of major angelological motifs became apparent, and the synchronic connections between the respective cultural contexts became noticeable. The course the research followed is reflected in the list of Contents. Ancient Egyptian myth and ritual associated with solar worship, together with Divine Council imagery, provides a pattern of mediation between heaven and earth via two crucial religious concepts which underly Jewish beliefs about the functioning of angels: 1) the concept of a supreme God as the king of the Gods as reflected in Divine Council imagery, and 2) the unique Egyptian institution of the king as the divine son of god (also related to the supremacy of the sun god). The blending of these two concepts can be seen in Ezekiel 1 and 10, where the throne of God is the source of angelic mediation between heaven and earth. An important stimulus to change was the vexed issue of theodicy, which in the traumatic history of the Israelites / Jews, forced new ways of thinking about angels, who in some contexts were implicated in evil and suffering on earth. In the hellenistic period, attainment to the throne of God in heaven becomes the goal of heavenly ascent, reflected in various ways in all three cultural contexts, and specifically by means of *merkabah* mysticism in the Jewish context; the basic concern is deification of human beings. It was this seminal cultural mixture which mediated Christianity as an outcome of Jewish angelology. The characteristic ambiguity of Jewish descriptions of angelic appearances, as reflected in the Hebrew Bible and in the Book of Revelation, functioned purposefully in this regard. Analysis of the distribution of angelological motifs amongst the Christian texts reflects Jewish angelological traditions, both in terms of *merkabah* mysticism in the Letter to the Hebrews, and in angelomorphic appearances of Jesus in the Book of Revelation.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif het ten doel die toetsing van die hipotese dat Egiptiese en Hellenistiese verbintenisse met Joodse oortuigings oor die funksionering van engele die aanvaarding van die Christendom gefasiliteer het. Die ondersoekmetode het 'n noukeurige studie van sekere tekste met opvallende angelologiese inhoud, tesame met 'n *Religionsgeschichtliche* metodologie. Die aanwesigheid van bepaalde motiewe, veral "troon" en "son/vuur", wat as kenmerkend van die funksionering van engele geïdentifiseer is, is oor die volle teksspektrum vergelyk. Die diachroniese ontwikkeling van belangrike angelologiese motiewe en die sinchroniese verbande tussen die onderskeie kulture kontekste het hierdeur duidelik geword. Antieke Egiptiese mites en rituele wat met sonaanbidding verband hou, tesame met godevergaderingbeeldspraak, toon 'n patroon van bemiddeling tussen hemel en aarde deur twee kritieke godsdienstige konsepte wat ten grondslag lê van die Joodse geloof oor die funksionering van engele: 1) die konsep van 'n oppermagtige God as die Koning van die gode soos weerspieël in godevergaderingbeeldspraak, en 2) die unieke Egiptiese instelling van die koning as die heilige seun van god (ook verwant aan die oppermag van die songod). Die versmelting van hierdie konsepte blyk uit Esegiël 1 en 10, waar God se troon die bron van engelebemiddeling tussen hemel en aarde is. 'n Belangrike stimulus vir verandering was die kwessie van teodisee wat in die traumatiese geskiedenis van die Israeliete/Jode nuwe denke oor engele, wat in sommige kontekste by kwaad en lyding op aarde betrek is, afgedwing het. In die Hellenistiese tydperk word die bereiking van God se troon die doel van opstyging na die hemel, op verskeie maniere in al drie kulturele kontekste weerspieël, en veral deur middel van *merkabah*-mistisisme in die Joodse konteks; die basiese kwessie is vergoddeliking van menslike wesens. Dit was hierdie seminale kulturele vermenging wat die Christendom as 'n uitkoms van Joodse angelologie bemiddel het. Die kenmerkende dubbelsinnigheid van Joodse beskrywings van verskynings deur engele, soos weerspieël in die Hebreeuse Bybel en in Openbaring, het in hierdie verband effektief gefunksioneer. Die ontleding van angelologiese motiewe in die *merkabah* mistisisme in die Brief aan die Hebreërs, sowel as in Jesus se angelomorfiese verskynings in Openbaring, weerspieël Joodse angelologiese tradisies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER

Henrietta (Hettice) Jacoba Nell (neé Puren) 22.08.1913 - 16.02.1996

Happy is she whose help is the God of Jacob, whose hope is in the Lord her God. Ps. 146:5.

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"By a great idea, I mean a simple concept of great reach ...
realizing the connection between phenomena that had seemed disparate."
Peter Atkins (2003:2, 4)

Heaven and earth have always seemed disparate. The tracing of the development of the Jewish idea of angels over the eight hundred year time-span specified above, points to a mechanism of thought whereby the opposites of earth and heaven become reconcileable. This is not my idea – I merely suggest that it was gradually uncovered within the cultural context and time-span specified above.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

The political upheavals which took place in the Ancient Near East throughout the development of the Jewish nation affected Jewish beliefs about angels in various ways. In this work these changes in the idea of angelic mediation between God and mankind have been traced by means of close reading of certain texts ranging over the period from 600 BCE to 200 CE, correlated historically with politico-cultural developments in the ancient Near East. For instance, in 586 BCE Jerusalem was finally defeated and the Temple destroyed by the Babylonians. This was a cataclysmic event, because in the ancient Near East temples functioned as bridges between the heavens and the earth, with the priests functioning as "living conduits between divine and human beings" (Deutsch 1999:28).[1] The consequent exile and physical separation from the Temple, which had been the centre of Israelite life, must have resulted in "cognitive dissonance" (Carroll 1979:111). Carroll suggests that in view of the problem of theodicy an adaptation in the Jewish concept of access to the presence of God would have been imperative, and this may have contributed to the reconceptualization of the temple at Jerusalem as the heavenly Temple or Throne of God.[2]

Another cataclysmic political event that stimulated profoundly creative changes in the way in which the involvement of God in the affairs of mankind was envisaged was the conquest of virtually the entire Ancient Near East by Alexander of Macedonia in ca.330 BCE. It may have been the recognition of heaven and earth as two opposite worlds which necessitated a new concept of mediation in order to bridge the chasm between life and death, earth and heaven. That divine beings could pass between heaven and earth was a generally accepted concept in the Ancient Near East, but a dramatic change came about with the onset of the

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[1] The following authors agree: Paas 2003:88; Sweeney 2001:138; Davila 2000:90; Mettinger 1982:50; Newsom 1985:65; Keel 1977:52.

[2] Deutsch (1999:30) notes that the idea of the heavenly temple may be traced to a period even before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Hellenistic age - "the novelty of the Hellenistic age was the spread of the belief that *mortals* could pass from one realm to the other" (Collins 2003:36, my italics).[3] How the development of the idea that mortals could gain access to heaven stimulated the "apocalyptic imagination" is explicated as this dissertation proceeds. Many authors have ascribed the development of apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism to the necessity for a reorientation of the Jewish concept of monotheism. Even though the Hebrew Bible frequently denies the reality of other gods, it sometimes also acknowledges their existence, albeit in subordination to the one Living God (Fletcher-Louis 1997:3). The prominence of the issue of monotheism in Judaism goes hand in hand with a variety of concepts of angelic mediation. The study of beliefs about angels has on the whole been neglected (Sullivan 2004:1). The only recent examination of the development of Jewish belief in angels before the rabbinic era is by Mach (1992). In his work he noted the way the LXX, and other authors of that time, tended to guard against polytheism by translating *elohim* as angels. Fletcher-Louis (1997:4) suggests that this is primarily a mechanism whereby late Second Temple angelology retains the complex nature of "divine action and presence within creation and history … without selling out to pagan polytheism".

Recently the impact of angel traditions on the development of Christology has received attention. The dramatic advance of Christianity in the first two centuries CE took place within a context of a plethora of esoteric religions.[4] The platonic conception of the soul as intermediary was ubiquitous, but currently the "New *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*" includes consideration of Jewish precedents in the origins of New Testament Christology (Fletcher-Louis 1997:13; Collins 2000a:13). In his study of Jewish Christianity Danielou (1964:117-146) coined the phrase "angelomorphic" as a representation of Christ "by means

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[3] Hellenism had a pervasive effect, and cannot simply be confined to the historical time period of 330 - 31 BCE when the last of the Hellenistic kingdoms fell into Roman hands; the dynamism of Hellenism continued to be effective throughout the Roman imperial period and beyond. For example, the Neoplatonic technique of theurgy was the latest extreme form of putting the concept of ascent to heaven into practice, followed to such an extent that Deutsch (1999:30) can say that it became a new form of pilgrimage.

[4] Morkot (2005:56-57) sketches the cultural context as follows: "The world of Late Antiquity was indeed a religious melting pot in which the 'mystery' cults, notably those of Isis, the 'Unconquered Sun' (Sol Invictus), Mithras and Christianity, were blended with the dominant philosophical movement, Neo-Platonism. Egypt, particularly Upper Egypt around *Panopolis* (Akhmim), played an important role in the development of religious ideas, both Christianity and what is generally known as 'Gnosticism'. The ideas preserved in these early Christian and Gnostic texts embraced both Egyptian and non-Egyptian, including Persian, ideas".

of the imagery of various angelic beings". Fletcher-Louis (1997:10) sees this as an indication that angelic categories are appropriate and useful in articulating a particular Christology in "an essentially apocalyptic Christological context". The hypothesis to be tested in this dissertation is that certain motifs in angelological Jewish texts are the carriers of essential features of Jewish angelology. It is proposed that under the stimulus of the Hellenistic context, these motifs provided the foundation for the conceptual changes which eventually, in the work of the Neoplatonist Iamblichus (c.240-320CE), led to the "ancient world's most fully articulated thinking on the problems, and limitations, of making a rational accounting of transcendence" (Struck 2000:489). Collins (1998a:13) has pointed out that although there are different types of apocalypticism, mysticism is an integral part of all apocalyptic literature and that "we are only beginning to explore the historical setting in which Jewish mysticism developed".[5] In this work I propose that if ancient Egyptian religious connections to Jewish concepts of angelic mediation are taken into account, then much of the characteristic ambiguity inherent in Jewish angelology becomes understandable.

The texts selected for this study were chosen because "on the surface" they reflect obvious angelological concerns. It was expected that by relating these texts to the cultural changes that inevitably resulted from the political upheavals, light would be cast on the reasons and mechanisms of these changes. A complicating factor is that no text is a discrete entity on its own. The apperceptive mass of the author has to be taken into account, i.e. the accumulation of ideas already possessed, derived from such sources as earlier texts or oral traditions, and these inevitably include interaction with other cultures. Corsini (2002:61) defines apperceptive mass as "a group of present ideas, influential in determining what new ideas shall gain admission to consciousness and in what way new objects shall be perceived". Diachronically the factor of apperceptive mass has a cumulative effect, therefore in the planning of this work the major methodological problem of the shift in religious traditions because of cultural interactions had to be solved. Ancient religious documents cannot be studied as though they are based on fixed religious concepts (Boring 1996:23), because religious traditions shift identity through

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[5] See discussion on *merkabah* mysticism in chapter 7.

contact with each other (Capps 1995:339). Consequently, texts have to be studied both synchronically as function and diachronically as process. This recommendation from Gottwald (1993:212) is accepted as a foundational methodological principle. Consequently methodological implications arise, which require adjustments to the usual historical research method.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The basic methodological assumption of this study is that the apperceptive mass of the respective authors will be detectable through a close[6] reading of their texts if this is supplemented by a History of Religions study,[7] and that this will enable a tracing of the historical development of angelological ideas. Thus in order to trace the trends in angelological beliefs in Jewish contexts resulting from historical-political developments in the Ancient Near East, a close reading and historical contextual study was done of certain pericopes from the texts noted below, which range in composition date from c. 600 BCE to 200 CE. These texts were selected on the basis of their overt angelological content and reasonable certainty regarding their approximate date of composition: Ezekiel 1 and 10, *I Enoch Book of Watchers*; *Tobit*; Daniel 7 and 10; two texts from Qumran - *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*; selections from Philo. In order to explore the further development of motifs of Jewish angelology, Hebrews and Revelation were added in view of the fact that Christianity was basically Jewish in orientation for at least the first hundred years. Selections from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the *Chaldean Oracles* and the *Apocryphon of John* were included because these texts represent important vectors of

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[6] By this term a careful reading, not necessarily the technical term employed in a literary-critical method, is meant.

[7]Cf. Lategan (1992 III:153): "For an adequate understanding of the text, analysis of its structure has to be complemented by the historical study of the world behind the text". The original *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, centred at Göttingen from the late 1880's to the 1930's, investigated "the multifaceted religious movements which surround Christianity" in a purely historical manner (Chapman 2000:257), thus recognising that the Bible had to be understood in the context of the discoveries that were being made in the broader setting of Egyptian, Babylonian and Hellenistic religions. It was seen that Christianity had many intellectual links with contemporaneous religions, for example Hellenistic Judaism, and thus the continuity between the Bible and the culture of the Ancient Near East was emphasised. Texts were only to be interpreted against their own cultural contexts - "their location within the stream of history" (Boring 1996:21).

development connected to Jewish angelology, and were prominently present in the cultural context during the last two centuries under consideration in this dissertation. In order to derive meaningful diachronic information it was necessary to make the time range as wide as possible, but because of limitations of space, other relevant Hellenistic, early Judaic, and Gnostic texts have had to be excluded.[8] However, for the purposes of the method outlined below, I deem this selection of texts to be representative of Jewish angelology as it developed over the stated time period. As far as possible, the texts were arranged diachronically (see chart A at the end of this chapter), and studied by means of a close reading in the History of Religions manner, i.e. within their cultural-contextual background.

García Martínez (2005:45) points out that if comparison is explored at a larger level then the problem of "comparing apples and pears"[9] is minimised because a different perspective is gained. However, for comparative purposes this selection of angelological texts is too wide and too varied to draw any general conclusions from a gathering up of the particular angelology of each individual text,[10] and the extraction of information derived from a straightforward close reading becomes unwieldy. Therefore the cultural-contextual approach described by Cook (1997:41)[11] was modified in the following manner:

a) In order to reduce the information derived from the close reading to comparable units, certain dominant motifs which appeared fairly consistently in most of the texts and seemed to be the carriers of the essence of Jewish angelology, were identified.

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[8] For instance 4Q Songs of the Sage, The Testament of Abraham, Aramaic Levi, and the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*. Other examples like the *Greek Magical Papyri*, the *Hekhalot literature* and the *Sefer Ha-Razim*, although reflecting early angelological traditions, are dated beyond the time spectrum of this study.

[9] Here he is referring specifically to the comparison of the Book of Daniel and the *Book of Dream Visions* in *I Enoch*.

[10] The same problem occurs as has been identified with the texts from Qumran and in the study of Gnosticism, *viz.* that there is too much individual variation, so that one cannot generalise about them. Davidson (1992:138) and Mach (2000 I:25) have highlighted the importance of dealing with the texts individually, even those from Qumran, because in spite of the fact that they were one isolated community, literary development took place over the estimated 200 year period that the settlement existed. Sullivan (2004:227) has also stressed the danger of oversynthesizing disparate units of evidence in this diverse field.

[11] The goal is to achieve the broadest and most representative analysis, but his holistic approach also aims to make sense of the text as an independent entity.

b) In the final chapter, the motifs were compared across the entire range of texts, as follows:

i) The motifs appearing in each text were tabulated by lifting them out of their diachronic contexts, and each motif was compared as an isolated phenomenon, i.e. not related to diachronic development.

ii) In this way the motif similarity and synchronic connections between texts become clearly visible. Thus the synchronic connections between motifs in the various texts could be described (see 8.1). Gottwald (1993:212) notes that the test of whether such an holistic approach is working is whether the interconnections among the coordinates as they appear in the texts are passing on meaningful information across the "synapses" between the coordinates in the different texts. In the final chapter this test is applied and proves to be useful.

iii) These motifs are then reconsidered in their historical contexts. What is known about the dating, place of origin and basic angelological content of each text is reassessed and discussed in terms of its interactive role in both the synchronic appearance of significant motifs and the diachronic course of angelology. (See 8.2).

iv) Finally, certain overall angelological aspects which emerged through this study, are considered.

Recently Dever (2002:28) has registered "a passionate plea for a renewed commitment to history, not theology, in pursuing ancient Israelite religion; for a return of the basic evolutionary, comparative, and ecumenical approach of *Religionsgeschichte* - coupled with the rich supplementary and corrective data that archaeology alone can supply". Thus the methodology includes looking at iconographical records and other archeological artefacts from the time period under study, in order to try and control the "quicksand world of language game" (Kemp 1989:4). As an additional aid to discerning influence, García Martínez's specification was noted (2003:41, 42), *viz.* that temporal priority and "motif similarity" are not enough - there must be a lexical connection as well. This eliminates some of the connections, but makes those with lexical connections outstandingly significant. In this study García Martínez's requirement for a lexical connection is sometimes modified by substituting archeological or iconographical evidence[12] if it can be properly validated and reasonably accurately dated. The warning of Forman and Quirke (1996:178) that iconographical evidence of the same universal image

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[12] As for instance the Gnostic Gem, Appendix 5.

cannot be linked at different historical periods - it needs a "direct overlap between the two worlds to be connected" - has been kept in mind.

Because text-critical details vary from text to text, these aspects are not dealt with here, but are discussed at the beginning of each individual text. All biblical quotations are from NRSV unless otherwise stated. The Old Greek reconstruction in the Göttingen edition of the LXX is specified as OG, and Theodotion as Th.

The following factors are considered in my approach to the selected texts:

a) Ideological orientation.

Fifteen years ago Nickelsburg (1990:251) pointed out that it is necessary to understand more about the differing and sometimes competitive motivations of past authors and commentators; by implication this is a salutary reminder that every researcher has an ideological orientation.[13] Barton (1998:17) has spoken of "… trying to let the text (… too hidebound by tradition …) speak through the stifling wrappings of interpretation with which it had been surrounded". This "taking a fresh look" is the orientation that has seemed to me to be necessary for this study. Recently Nickelsburg (2003:3) could state that "a revolution in our understanding of antiquity has begun, and the old schemes and explanatory models no longer work. It is time for cautious and conscientious construction of new models".[14] This includes text-critical research. Taking Dijkstra's comments (1986:75) on how "extremely difficult it is to unravel problems of text-critical and redactional character in a comprehensive description of the process of textual transmission", together with Greenberg's statement (1977:147) that "hidden problems such as contradictions with far and near passages, interrelations, verbal assonance and other devices" are of the essence of ancient composition, my approach is that textual evidence, translations and secondary sources must be used with the "hermeneutics of suspicion" (Bagnall 1993:8).

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[13] Foucalt (1972:192) defined history as the study and unearthing of a vast, complex web of interconnecting forces ("epistemes"), implying that historians must realise that they are inevitably part of these forces.

[14] Fulbrook (2002:196) has highlighted the necessity for a "willingness to revise conceptual interpretations and explanatory frameworks in the light of new evidence, however theoretically contaminated all such evidence inevitably will be". See for example the section on Gnosticism.

b) "Sympathetic imagination"

The following authors have helped to shape my approach to the texts under consideration, which appear so strange to a 21st century reader. Thistleton (1993:280) recognises that the subject of angelology requires a "sympathetic imagination" - Danielou for example (1957:vii) pointed out that to see in the patristic treatment of the missions of the angels "naivete", is to have misunderstood not only the Fathers and the missions of the angels, but the spirit of the genuine piety of the Church. Hurtado (1988:128) notes that it is necessary to "first appreciate the religious life that preceded and underlay the ancient development".[15] Therefore my close reading of the selected texts aims to take the texts on their own terms, and understand them within their own time-frames, in other words, how they would have been understood at the time they were written. In order to understand how the first or early readers understood these texts, cognizance was taken of the "entirely different sensibility about the meaning of meaning from the logocentric[16] one that drives Western thought" (Boyarin 2000:171). For example in the close reading of Ezekiel 1, supplemented by the Targum to Ezekiel, cognizance is taken of Boyarin's theory of language, whereby language itself is understood to be embedded in whole systems of signifying practices. Boyarin (2000:171) notes that this has something in common with the understanding of mantic language - meaning appears *adherent* in the signifying material as the sensuous element.[17]

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[15] For example, the quotation below from the *Apothegmata Patrum* (Till 1961: 260) contains three different points of view: those of the narrator, secondly the monks, thirdly the female person being addressed.

> "The monks said to her: "Even when an angel appears to you, you should not receive him, but humble yourself and say 'I am not worthy to see an angel because I have lived in my sins'"".

By implication, the belief held by all the characters in this text - that it is possible that an angel may appear - is conveyed. Presumably the monks convey what is the normative religious response for that historical cultural context which, on the surface, is what the narrator intends to communicate i.e. an angel could appear. However, this text could be understood to convey a diminishing of the value of such a happening, privileging instead the quality of humility which was apparently more highly valued by the monks. Possibly the author intended to convey that humility was more important to him, i.e. the quality of "humility" is privileged in this text, and the idea of an angel appearing to an ordinary mortal devalued.

[16] Derrida claims that the western metaphysics of presence has invented a variety of terms that function as centres, e.g. God, reason, being, essences, truth, self, etc., and names this belief that there is an ultimate reality or centre of truth that can serve as the basis for all our thought and actions "*logocentricism*" (Bressler 1994:76). He recognises that we can never totally free ourselves from our logocentric way of thinking - to "decenter" is only to establish another centre, and in this way he arrives at the perception that western metaphysics is based on a system of binary operations or conceptual oppositions. He maintains that we know truth because we know deception; good because we know bad, presence because we know absence. The element in a superior position is *privileged* (as opposed to *unprivileged*).

[17] Boyarin (2000:169) also notes that the signifying practices of early rabbinic culture involve "a denial of Platonistic splits between the material and the ideal". The Marxian classicist George Thompson (1973:147;

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

As this study proceeded it soon became apparent that there are two separate threads to the development of Jewish angelology: A) The Divine Council in heaven, with the supreme God, sometimes enthroned, always surrounded by lesser divinities, and B) Sun or fire associations with the throne of God in heaven.[18] Chapter 2, section 1 therefore deals with thread A, the concept of the Divine Council. The concept of the Divine Council or Assembly of the בני אלים[19] was a common religious motif throughout the ancient Near East, not only in Phoenicia and Canaan/Palestine, but also in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Thread A is reflected in several places in the Hebrew Bible, for example in Psalm 82, where the setting is the Divine Council headed by El. Psalm 82 provides the background to much of the angelological terminology of the Hebrew Bible, and reveals the difficult phenomenon of the inherent ambiguity of Jewish angelology. Chapter 2, section 2 sketches the cultural origins of thread B, sun/fire, which almost invariably is associated with the angelic activity related to the throne of God in heaven. It is necessary to consider the implications of Egyptian religious associations here because they underlie significant developments and are reincorporated in the discussion in the final chapter. A connection from Egyptian Solar worship to Thread B as solar worship of the Israelite/Judaite royal throne, is demonstrated in countless archeological artefacts (Fig. 1). This connection is also perceptible in the sphinx-like *cherubim* as apparent in the 8th C BCE iconography of the Northern tribes of Israel, and in the fiery seraphim of Isa 6, Num 21:6,8 and Deut 8:15. These symbols connect threads A and B by virtue of the fact that they appear with solar or fire associations in a divine council context. This combination of angelological motifs has directed the focus of this dissertation towards the throne of God in heaven. These two threads have cosmological significance in common, and this is

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1955:239) remarked on "the novelty of the Platonic revolution in consciousness ... the Orphic conception of the soul is that it is generically different from the body, the one pure, the other corrupt, the one divine, the other earthly. This was a profound revolution of consciousness which the rabbis resisted". These elements of Jewish texts from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods are taken into consideration.

[18] Mach (1992) also describes two threads to Jewish angelology. His first is in agreement with mine as the Divine Council, but his second thread is that of the angels as messengers. In contrast to Mach, I identify what appears to be a very different concept as a second thread – solar or fire connotations in various forms in association with the supreme or highest God. I see Mach's second thread as part of the Divine Council scenario, because on the basis of Greek literature of the hellenistic period, the lesser gods of the Divine Council are equal to angels in essence and function as messengers.

reflected by their combination in Ezekiel's vision of God's throne in heaven, dealt with in chapter 3, section 1. The way in which evidence of this view is manifested in subsequent Jewish angelological texts forms a large part of this dissertation. In chapter 3 part 2 two texts from Qumran, which are clearly based on Ezekiel's *merkabah* vision are discussed. The first, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, reflects a fully developed angelology, whereas *Pseudo-Ezekiel* reveals little or no angelological concern. This demonstrates the danger of assuming a homogenous ideational matrix for texts from the same cultural group, even from such a confined area as Qumran.

Psalm 82 and Ezekiel 1 and 10 reflect the metaphoric imagery of the Ancient Near East of their time, and contribute the necessary background to one of the earliest extra-biblical Jewish writings about angels, the *Book of Watchers* from *I Enoch* chapters 1 to 36, which is discussed in chapter 4 part 1. In this text the question of the apperceptive mass becomes dominant, in that the *Book of Watchers* raises crucial angelological questions which are addressed in the later texts. For instance it may be that the particular angelological content of Psalm 82 and Ezekiel 1 and 10 was mediated to the later texts via the exegetical orientation of the author of *Book of Watchers*. Two other texts from the last two centuries BCE are discussed in chapter 4: *Tobit* and Daniel 7 and 10, both of which raise questions of apperceptive mass. Daniel is clearly influenced by *I Enoch*, but *Tobit*, being of a different genre, presents angelological motifs in a very different way.

In chapter 5 Hellenistic influence comes strongly into play in the form of Platonism, and therefore the classical Greek background is considered here in relation to angelologically significant selections from Philo's *corpus*. Chapter 6 considers first and second century CE texts which were developing synchronically during this time, broadly representing the three main vectors of development, to a greater or lesser degree contributed to by Jewish angelology, *viz* the *Corpus Hermeticum*, *Apocryphon of John*, and the *Chaldean Oracles*. Diachronically the two separate threads of Divine Council/Throne and Sun/Fire, appear to merge, and then separate again in the first and second centuries CE. The course and possible role of these two major angelological motifs are explored in chapter 7, on

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[19] The different ways in which this phrase was interpreted, are discussed below.

Christianity. Finally, in chapter 8 all the texts are considered in their diachronic development and in the synchronic clustering of common motifs. Because of the specific structure of this dissertation, the separate threads of each text are as it were, spun out individually to begin with, but in the final chapter the motifs of all the texts are reviewed in their diachronic and synchronic manifestation. Chart A, below, is a broad and approximate representation of the relationships and interactions considered in this dissertation. The horizontal axis at the head demarcates the diachronic course of time from ca.600 BCE to ca.200 CE, and the synchronic clustering of texts is arranged vertically below. Bibliographical abbreviations are according to Schweitner 1992. *UGAT*. Other abbreviations are explained in the text as they are encountered.

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CHART A: approximate dates of the texts of this study juxtaposed against the major historical and politico-cultural movements, according to the model of Boccaccini (1998:13,140).

BCE	600	400	300	200	100	BCE/CE	100	200

Babylonian   Greek   Maccabeus   Roman   1st Jewish   Bar
Exile   Conquest   Conquest   War   Kochba

H E L L E N I S T I C   J U D A I S M

ENOCHIC JUDAISM   ESSENISM   GNOSTICISM?
                           QUMRAN   RABBINIC JUDAISM?

                                             CHRISTIANITY

Ps 82   Xenocrates
                 Timaeus   *Daniel?*   Philo   *Poim.? Ap. J.*
Ezekiel 1 & 10   *BW?*   *E Enoch*   *S.Enoch*   Heb *Chald. Or.?*
                 Tobit?   *SSS? Ps Ez?*   Rev
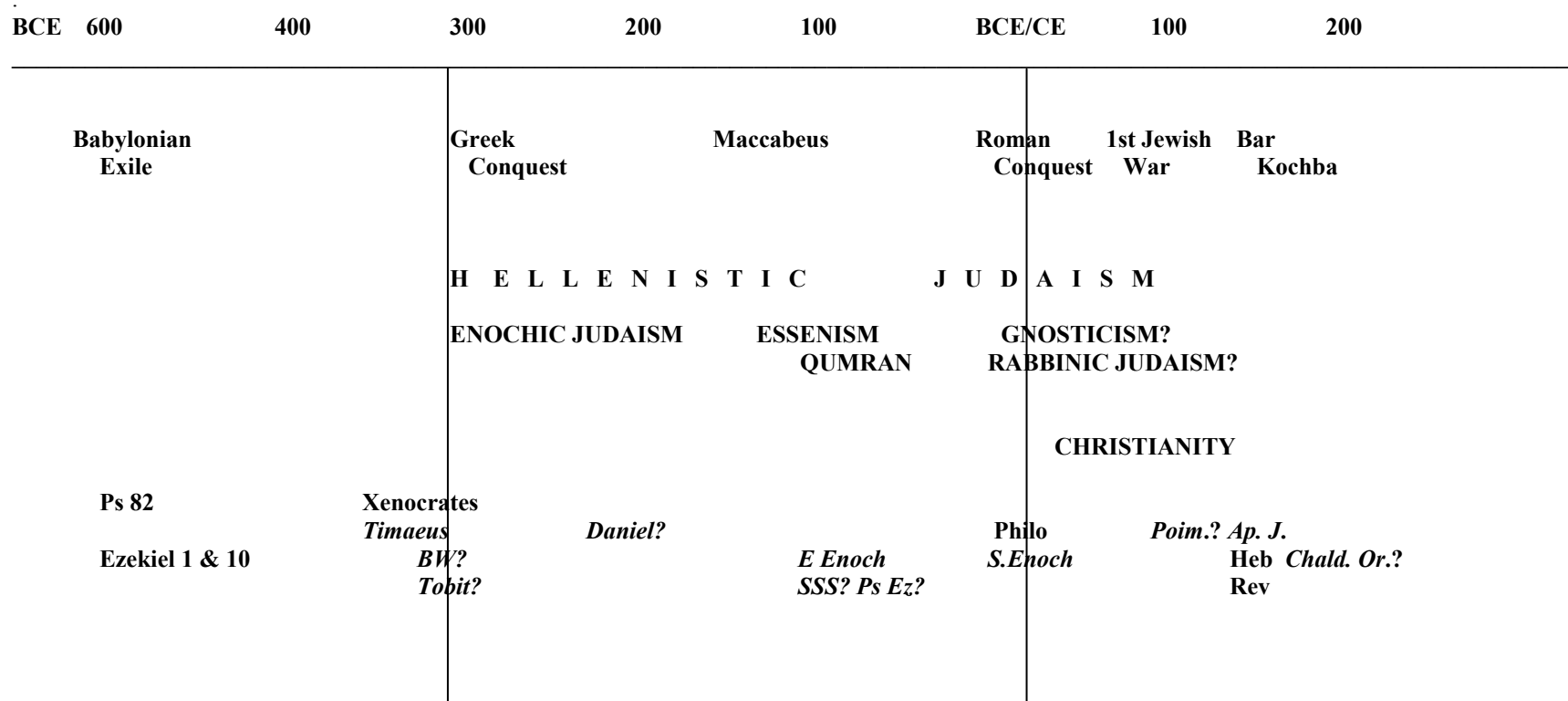
CHAPTER 2

THE TWO THREADS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
JEWISH ANGELOLOGY

2.1 SECTION 1: THREAD A, THE DIVINE COUNCIL

The process of the self-identification of Israel as monotheistic inevitably necessitated differentiation from surrounding nations, so that relics of polytheism had to be suppressed or eliminated, or at very least transformed (Gerstenberger 2002:275; Smith 1999:127; Assmann 1997:1-12; Hayman 1991:15). The course of the development of Jewish angelology reflects this transformation from so-called polytheistic origins,[1] clearly to be seen in Psalm 82.

The terminology used in Psalm 82 as well as the mythological content in this Psalm encompasses seminal angelological issues which are discussed as this dissertation proceeds. According to Cross (1953:274), the terminology of the "Court of El" in the Hebrew Psalms is taken directly from Ugaritic mythological texts.[2] By examining the mythological precedents to this Psalm, angelological motifs are identified. At this stage, no attempt is made to provide an exegesis of Psalm 82. The focus of the discussion below is solely on the mythological background of the relevant terminology in the verses that are given below.

Psalm 82 is generally dated to the late era of the kings (ended 587 BCE), and is very well preserved (Kraus 1989:154). El is portrayed as the supreme judge in the texts from Ugarit, but in Psalm 82 the supreme judge is named "Elohim", albeit in the "Council of

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[1] As late as the fifth century BCE in the Jewish colony at Elephantine, Yahweh, in the form of Yah, was worshipped as the chief member of a pantheon (Johnson 1961:22).

[2] In Psalm 82 the Canaanite and Ugaritic parallels with the Divine Council are so clear that there is no need to look to Mesopotamia for the origin of this concept (Mullen 1980:113; Levine 1988:62; Collins 1993a:29).

El".[3] To the Greek translator the terms "Elohim" and "El" were interchangeable, both meaning "God". Elohim is surrounded by a council of gods who appear to be his servants and messengers. Morgenstern (1939:30, 31) pinpoints the primary difficulty of understanding this psalm as the precise implication of the word "Elohim", where it occurs in vv. 1b and 6. One of the issues is the ambiguity of the plural form אלהים. According to Hartman (1972:679) Hebrew use of a plural noun to designate the sole God of Israel is likely to be because the early Israelites simply took אלהים over from Canaanite usage. Another issue is whether in these positions the word designates divine beings or human beings, Israelite judges, Jewish kings, or foreign rulers.[4] Johnson (1961:4-9) explains this in terms of the Israelite conception of Man and God. The Israelite conception of the social unit or kin-group is of a corporate personality, thus the נפש, or "unified manifestation of vital power" made itself felt through indefineable "extensions" of the personality, thus in the Israelite conception of the angel or messenger רוח was an extension of Yahweh's personality. This implies and explains how it comes about that the angel or messenger of Yahweh is frequently indistinguishable from Yahweh himself (Johnson 1961:29).

(Please note that in the table below, where there are two Greek words equivalent to one in the Hebrew, they are sometimes placed on one line if they do not need to be analysed individually).

2.1.1 ANALYSIS OF TERMINOLOGY IN PSALM 82

LXX (Ps 81)	Translation (KJV)	MT
Verse 1		
ὁ θεὸς	God	אלהים(1
ἔστη	stands	נצב (2
ἐν συναγωγῆ	in the assembly	בעדת־
θεῶν	of El,	אל (3

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[3] This portrayal of God as the supreme judge is echoed in Isa 6; I Kings 22:19-22; Dan 7:9, and in I *Enoch* 14:3-16:3.

[4] The Melchizedek scroll 11QMelch 2:9-10 understands אלהים in this position to refer to Melchizedek, (righteous king/judge).

Greek	English	Hebrew
ἐν μέσῳ	in the midst	בכרב
δὲ θεοὺς	of the gods	אלהים (4
διακρίνει.	he judges.	ישפט

Verse 6

Greek	English	Hebrew
Ἐγὼ	I,	אני־
εἶπα	I have said	אמרתי
θεοί	gods	אלהים (5
ἐστε,	you are	אתם
καὶ υἱοὶ	and sons	ובני (6
ὑψίστου	of the Most High	עליון
πάντες	all of you	כלכם

Verse 7

Greek	English	Hebrew
Ὑμεῖς δὲ	But ye	אכן
ὡς ἄνθρωποι	as men	כאדם
ἀποθνῇσκετε,	die	תמותון
καὶ ὡς εἷς	and as one	וכאחד
τῶν ἀρχόντων	of the princes	השׂרים
πίπτετε	fall	תפלו

Verse 8

Greek	English	Hebrew
Ἀνάστα	Arise	קומה
ὁ θεός	O God	אלהים
κρῖνον	judge	שׁפטה
τὴν γῆν,	the earth	הארץ
ὅτι	for	כי־
σὺ	you	אתה
κατακληρονομήσεις	shall inherit	תנחל
ἐν πᾶσιν	all	בכל
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.	nations	הגוים (7

In Israel's early tradition אלהים was perceived as administering the cosmos with a hierarchical beaurocracy of divine assistants (I Kings 22:19ff; Isa 6:3).[5] The plural form as used at 1) is also used in the Hebrew Bible of pagan gods, of an individual pagan god

(Judg 11:24; II Kings 1:2ff.), and even of a "goddess" (I Kings 11:5), but Parker (1999:794) notes that it is debateable whether in the Hebrew phrase בני אלהים the plural of the word for 'god' represents the plural concept 'gods' or the singular 'God'. Although אלהים is a plural form, it is generally understood in this context as singular, and is also reflected as such in the LXX. By using the nominative singular here for God, LXX conforms to the idea of the sole God of Israel. Tsevat (1980:134) raises the question whether this first occurrence of אלהים replaced an original יהוה, because this psalm "belongs to the elohistic group which as an entity is characterized by a rather late change of most occurrences of יהוה to אלהים".[6] Kraus (1989:154) also states that in the elohistically revised part of the Psalter *Yahweh* should be read here instead of *elohim*, especially in recognition of the term *elohim* in v.1b, which applies to the gods. However, this confuses the original distinctness of El from Yahweh, which is an important factor in angelological development. See Appendix 1 on Monotheism. At 2) the 3 m.s. verb נצב Nifal Part. (Holladay 1988:243: "stands, takes a stand, remains standing, stands firm, is in charge")[7] confirms that the first *elohim* should be read as singular.

At 3) the oldest Semitic term for God, אל, harks back to Ugaritic mythology. In Ugaritic mythology El is the aged creator god - father of the gods who engendered the other gods in the pantheon (Mullen 1980:108). El was later superceded by Baal.[8] The etymology is

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[5] Handy (1994:176, 177) points out that the "Divine Council" view of the divine world is based on a scribal view of bureaucratic rule from Syria-Palestine, i.e. "the mythological world portrayed in the extant narratives should be understood in the light of the world in which those scribes functioned".

[6] Tsevat (1980:131) states: "YHWH, the god of Israel, is the supreme god, but the 'other gods' are also real gods; He maintains their reality even as He has ordained their subordination. ... and He has assigned them functions in the scheme of the universe."

[7] Collins (1993a:200) commenting on verse 2 of the Prayer of Azariah, notes that "stood" is a Semitism. For example Isa 3:13 "The Lord has taken his place to contend, he stands to judge his people." According to Jewish tradition the concept of standing is loaded with significance. In a court situation, if the one who is judged is found guilty, he may no longer stand, but sinks to his knees (cf. Deut 25:8 and Josh 20:4). The seraphim in Isa 6:1-4 are also described as standing (שרפים עמדים), and so are the four living beings in Ez 10:3 (והכרבים עמדים), and in Ez 1:7 by virtue of the description of their "straight" legs (see 3.2.1). *Pseudo-Ezekiel* describes the living beings as walking on two legs, implying the upright position. In Luke 1:19 Gabriel introduces himself as "he who stands before the presence of God" (ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ).

[8] The later mixing of El and Baal concepts is discussed in chapter 4 on Daniel 7 and 10. According to Mullen (1980:110) "the texts from Ugarit show no knowledge of a conflict between El and Baal, for example El leads the mourning rites at Baal's death and rejoices at his resurrection. Even when the cult of

uncertain, but is thought to mean "to be powerful", from a root "yl/*wl* " (Hartman 1972:674-676). אל corresponds to Akkadian *ilu(m)*, Canaanite *el* or *il*, and Arabic *el*. In Akkadian *ilu(m)* and plural *ilu* and *ilanu* are used in reference to any individual god as well as to divine beings in general. Mark Smith (2001b:143) suggests that El may have been the original God of early Israel, as witnessed by the name Israel. In this context the role of God as judge corresponds to the role of the Ugaritic El. El's will was in effect the judgement of the council. Kraus (1989:83,156) concurs that the ancient Israelite tradition that Yahweh judges Israel was derived from a universal picture of judgement which is part of the cultic tradition of the "highest God".[9]

Because of the context, the term אלהים in verse 1 is accepted by most scholars to be used in the first position for God and in the second for "gods". In the second position in verse 1 at 4) אלהים is part of a genitive construction, which must mean "in the midst of the gods". The LXX reading affirms the understanding of this appearance as plural: accusative plural θεούς. In verse 6 at 5) אלהים is also intended as plural, as indicated by the context and witnessed to by the LXX θεοί. Many of the ancient rabbis understood Psalm 82 to refer to the giving of the law to the nation of Israel at Mount Sinai, thus here the word "elohim" according to their view in the context of the rest of verse 6, designates the people of Israel (Page 1995:55). The uncertainty in distinguishing the terminology for the righteous human beings from the meaning of "angels" (Di Lella 1977:3) has repercussions in later texts, for instance in the scholarly contention about whether the כבר אנש in Dan 7:13 refers to an angelic figure.[10]

Baal began to replace El's cultus in the popular religion, El was still worshipped as the father and creator of the gods; their spheres of power were quite different".

[9] El is also the standard word for God in the Qumran literature, far more common than *Elohim.* In the Qumran literature the plural of El, *elim*, refers to angels (Davila 2000:101).

[10] The phrase Sons of the Most High, בני עליון, at 6) is a variant of "sons of God" and according to its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible always refers to suprahuman beings (Page 1995:55), but this is contested for Daniel 7:18 where קדישי עליונין, "saints/holy ones of the Most High", could be either angels or the faithful Israelites. This ambiguity becomes a major issue in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and is discussed in chapter 3 section 2A.

Morgenstern (1939:121) regards the use of the name עליון at 6) as evidence of North Semitic origin of this Psalm because here this name is not yet identified with Yahweh (as in later biblical writings, for instance LXX Ps. 90:9 ὕψιστον), but is still the old North Semitic deity.[11] According to Hartman (1972:675) *elyon* is an adjective meaning "higher, upper", and when used in reference to God, it should be translated as "Most High"; the term originally denoted a deity from Phoenicia, which later became combined with El from Ugarit.[12] It was adopted by the early Hebrews as an epithet for Yahweh in the patriarchal cult of Jerusalem (Fitzmyer 2003:114).

The following 3 terms are indirectly related to בני עליון.

The Lord of Hosts

There are numerous references to the Lord of Hosts in the Psalms, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah and Jeremia. The earliest biblical descriptions of Yahweh reveal that he was originally conceived of as a warrior/creator god with his divine host, like the Phoenician description of El: "El, who creates the (heavenly) armies".[13] Taylor (1993:100) suggests that the epithet Yahweh of Hosts implies a solar dimension to the character of Yahweh, because of the "widespread 'theological' understanding of Yahweh as the head of the astral bodies", based on the understanding that צבאות means "heavenly bodies" rather than "heavenly armies".

בני אלהים or בני אלים

The normal term for members of the pantheon in the Ugaritic texts is בני אלים. According to Cross (1977:255) the appellative plural *elim* occurs in early Hebrew poetry, where the original referent is the family of El, or the members of the Council of El. The

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[11] The combined form of El Elyon also occurs in the Aramaic Sefire inscriptions (Sefire IA11) of the eighth century BCE as ὁ ὕψιστος. *Elyon* also appears at Tobit 1:13, and turns up in Aramaic Dan 3:26 and 5:18 as אלהא עליא, and in later Greek inscriptions as Zeus Hypsistos.

[12] In Gen 14:18-19 Melchizedek is described as "a priest of El Elyon, Creator of heaven and earth".

[13] In the song of Deborah (Jdg 5:20), dated to the twelfth to eleventh century BCE, the natural elements, the host of stars, are seen to cooperate with the divine warrior as participants in the battle. Like the "Holy

term אלים appears at Dan 11:36 as a plural designation for angelic members of Yahweh's court. According to Byrne (1992:156) בני reflects the common Semitic use of "son" to denote membership of a class or group, and בני אלהים or בני אלים literally means "sons of gods" in the general sense of "divine beings". However, the use of *bene elim* is ambiguous, for instance MT Deut 32:8 has the phrase "he set the bounds according to the number of the sons of Israel", בני ישראל.[14] Conservative Jewish scholars still interpret this phrase as referring to humans (Levine 1988:50).[15] In a Hellenistic milieu the term "son of God" would have called to mind a miracle-worker, and if the human connection was clear, a first century CE Palestinian Jew would have understood it simply as a reference to a just and saintly man. In addition to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the phrase appears in Philo and rabbinic literature with reference to those who remain faithful to the divine commandments: "When the Israelites do the will of the Holy One, blessed be he, they are called 'sons'". The concept of Israelites as "sons (son) of God" expresses the intimate and unique relationship between Yahweh and Israel. In the Hebrew Bible the privilege of sonship is focused upon the king, but the "royal" sonship is a microcosm of the divine sonship of all Israel. Eventually the phrase "son of the gods/God" was fused with the concept of angels, as seen in MT Dan 3:25, לבר־אלהין. A Hebrew fragment from Qumran of Deut 32:8 (4Q Dt j 1) that reads בני אלהים "sons of God" rather than the MT "sons of Israel" implies agreement with the OG "the angels of God" (Collins 1993a:292).[16] The earliest attestation of בני האלהים as being interpreted as "angels", appears to be *I Enoch* 6-11 (late 3rd century BCE) (Pearson 1995:361).

Ones", the host of heaven צבא השמים (Deut 4:19; 17:3; I Kings 22:19; Isa 34:4; Jer.8:2; 19:13) and the sun and moon are included in Yahweh's retinue and comprise his army and council (Mullen 1980:194).

[14] Hempel (1990:345) comments " prb recte בני אל vel בני אלים".

[15] Cf. Ex 4:22b "Israel is my (first-born) son ..."

[16] κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. Eissfeldt (1956:29) argued that at Deut 32:8 Yahweh who inherits Israel appears to be distinct from and subordinate to El Elyon, hence the OG renders "angels of God" for "sons of El". This passage suggests that the boundaries of the earth were established according to the number of God's angels, implying to the teachers of ancient Judaism that angels had been assigned positions of authority over the nations. This has caused divergent interpretations of Dan 10 and 12:1, where

<u>Holy ones</u>

Collins (1974:50) argues that in Dan 7:18 the "Holy ones of the Most High" could well be symbolic of "righteous Israel" as well as angels. The issue arising out of this ambiguity concerns the question of whether the angels and the "righteous Israelites" are definitely two separate groups, or have become merged. The alternate term for "sons of the gods" or "sons of God", קדשים, is found in the Ugaritic texts in connection with the Assembly of El. Ps 89:6-8 reveals the connection of the "Holy Ones" as members of the Divine Council: the "Holy ones/Beings" are the members of the Council, equivalent to the sons of the gods, בני אלים. Parallel formation in Ps 89 confirms the equating of "heavenly beings" with "holy ones" (NRSV):

כי מי בשחק יערך ליהוה

אל נערץ בסוד־קדשים   ידמה ליהוה בבני אלים:

רבה ונורא על־כל־סביביו:

> "For who in the skies can be compared to the Lord? Who among the heavenly beings (KJV: sons of the mighty) is like the Lord? A God feared in the council of the holy ones (KJV: assembly of the saints), great and terrible above all that are round about him?"

The term קדש is also used in Deut. 33:2

> "The Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us, he shone forth from Mount Paran, he came from the ten thousands of holy ones with flaming fire at his right hand" (NRSV, but MT has the singular קדש).

The LXX transliterates the Hebrew word קדש as Καδης, but in Acts 7:53 Stephen's speech when referring to Deut 33:2, is reported as using the term ἀγγέλων.

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angels are referred to as "princes" of Persia and Greece, and Michael as "the great prince" over God's people (Guthrie 2002:18).

2.1.2 CONCLUSION TO SECTION 1, THREAD A

Already in Psalm 82 the ambiguity of the words "*elohim*", "*elim*", "sons of God" and

קדשים comes into play. The recognition by the Israelites of other deities in the nations

around them, is clear (see Appendix 1). Levine (1988:50) has noted the resistance of the

rabbis to the understanding of the term "sons of God" as fused with the concept of angels.

However, this understanding is already present in *1 Enoch* 6-11 and Daniel 3:25 and 28.

In Psalm 82 in the Divine Council setting, there is no mention of a throne, but El[17]

appears to be the primary figure and supreme judge surrounded by his *elohim*, who could

be gods or angels, possibly identical in function and essence, as the later Hellenists saw

them.[18] As this dissertation proceeds El's relation with the surrounding *elohim* becomes

increasingly ambiguous.

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[17] Or Elohim or YHWH.

[18] Macarius (Apocritus): A Hellenic philosopher is speaking. "If you say that angels stand before God, who are not subject to feeling and death, and immortal in their nature, whom we ourselves speak of as gods, because they are close to the divinity, why do we dispute about a name? … The difference therefore is not great, whether a man calls them gods or angels, since their divine nature bears witness to them." (Cook 2000:235).

2.2 SECTION 2: THREAD B, SUN/FIRE

Shupak (2001:116) suggests that the "ancient custom that prevailed in the ancient Near East beginning with the New Kingdom in Egypt (15th century BCE), namely blending elements deriving from different cultures and religions, enabled a residue of the Egyptian solar religion to be preserved in certain circles of sun worshippers in Israel". She suggests that in this way the concepts and beliefs concerning the Egyptian god Aten (the sun disc) may have been retained by the Israelites. The ancient Egyptian connection as the source of thread B in Jewish angelology has implications which form the basis for the hypothesis of a pattern of mediation between heaven and earth which is developed as this dissertation proceeds.

The following examples suggest solar associations with Yahweh:

1) According to Morgenstern (1939:60)[19] the prevailing concept of YHWH in the pre-exilic period was that He dwelt in heaven, but regularly descended from there upon the New Year's Day, and surrounded by the *bene elohim* entered the Temple and pronounced judgement. This was closely associated with the coming of the first rays of the rising sun upon the morning of the day of the fall equinox, i.e. the New Year's Day, shining through the eastern gate of the Temple, which was kept closed during all the remainder of the year, (except for the other equinoctial day of the year). The Temple at Jerusalem was oriented so precisely that only upon these two days the first rays of the rising sun would shine through the open eastern gate and straight down the long axis of the Temple into the *debir* where its contents would be bathed in light. This phenomenon has been documented for the Egyptian pyramids by Wilkinson (2000:16-17).[20]

2) During Iron Age IIB (925-720/700), Egyptian deities and protective powers were the predominant symbolism in the Northern kingdom, and solar imagery was the theme (Keel

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[19] Morgenstern refers to his earlier articles where this phenomenon is described: "The Gates of Righteousness", *HUCA*, VI (1929), 1-37, and "Amos Studies, II" *HUCA*, XII-XIII (1937-8:1-34).

[20] Giveon (1978:24-27) mentions another three instances of archeological evidence of Egyptian influences in Palestine/Israel during the 18th to 20th Dynasties (ca.1500-1100 BCE).

and Uehlinger 1998:248-9).[21] Keel and Uehlinger state that like the Phoenician Baal, who took on celestial and solar characteristics and became the "Lord of Heaven" (Baal Shamem), the Israelite Yahweh also took on the characteristics of a celestial/solar "Most High God" during this period. A cult stand from Hazor (ca. 1000 BCE) shows clear solar symbolism in an Israelite context, and Keel and Uehlinger (1998:277) go so far as to state that by the eighth century Yahweh was conceived of as the actual sun god. In Northern Israel during Iron Age IIB symbols of the sun god himself regularly found are the two- or four-winged scarabs, usually pushing the ball of the sun before them (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:256). Winged creatures of Egyptian origin, and hybrid creatures that are deities, mostly rendered in Egypto-Phoenician style, predominate (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:249). See figures 1, 2 and 3.

3) The winged sun disk as emblem of royalty on jar handles from Judea bear the inscription "*lmlk*" (for the king) on a seal impression of a two-winged sun disk or a four winged scarab (see fig.1f). These jar handles were found at Lachish stratum III which has been dated to Hezekiah's reign, just prior to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE. The winged sun disk is solar in character, and yet the seal impressions on the jar handles clearly denote the royal emblem of the kingdom of Judah. In looking at the significance of the solar imagery Gardiner states: " ... the Winged Disk and the name of the King are ... inextricably interconnected, so that the winged disk is an image of the king himself, the king thus united with Re and Horus as a trinity of solar and kingly dominion" (Taylor 1993:55). It is likely that this emblem penetrated Israel as a result of the relationship between Egypt and Judah in the late 8th century BCE (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:276) when Hezekiah formed an alliance with the 25th Egyptian Dynasty[22] against Assyria (Taylor 1993:47). The connection between solar symbolism and wings has been retained in some of the metaphorical language which describes Yahweh, especially noticeable in the Psalms (see example 5).[23] Although the earliest written record of the Horus myth, "The Legend of the Winged Disk", dates to the Ptolemaic period, the Egyptian tradition

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[21] This time period coincides with the setting of the *Tobit* narrative where the angel Raphael acts in disguise as a protective power.
[22] Ethiopian, 712 to 657 BCE.

of Horus as winged sun disk and flying scarab is much more ancient, and could well have been known in Israel and Judah in the late eighth century BCE.

4) Mark Smith (1990:38) sees the solar language for Yahweh as having developed in two stages. Firstly as part of the general Near Eastern heritage of "divine language as an expression of general theophanic luminosity", and secondly, under the influence of the monarch as one component of the symbolic repertoire of the chief god in Assur, Babylon and Israel. He notes that the winged sun disk was also a symbol for a "general theophanic luminosity" in the Hittite and Canaanite pantheons. For example, Jeremias (1965:39) understands Yahweh to be described as a sun deity in Hab 3:4, 5:[24]

ונגה כאור תהיה   קרנים מידו לו   [25] [ושם חביון עזה:]

לפניו ילך [27] דבר   ויצא [26] רשף לרגליו:

"And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand;
Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth from his feet "
(KJV).

The word קרנים has been variously understood by scholars as animal horns, a lightning rod, or the rays of the sun, all of which sometimes appear in association with deity and are relevant to an image of power and might associated with intense light.

5) The Psalms witness to solar Yahwism as a feature of royal religion during the period of the monarchy. Psalm 91 (c.400 BCE) demonstrates a transition from *Elyon* to Yahweh, who is represented as a winged deity. In verse 1 עליון is not yet equated with Yahweh. At verse 4 Yahweh (lexicalised at verse 2 as יהוה) is represented as a winged deity, who at verse 11 is attended by his ministering angels, but in verse 9 the parallelism between עליון and יהוה indicates that they are equated. Ps 19:1-6 and Ps 84:11 also reinforce

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[23] The "wings" stress the celestial aspect (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:195), but also convey the idea of protection, as with the cherubim.

[24] Cf. 3.2.2.2 n.75 where Newsom's original translation of אור as "light" in parallel with "fire", is discussed.

[25] "and there was the hiding of his powers", Prb add, gl (Elliger 1990:1053).

[26] See 2.3.1 for discussion of the god Reshef – the "flaming sword.

[27] NRSV also has "pestilence", but LXX has λόγος.

the connection between Deity and sun, and in Ps 104:1-4, Yahweh has characteristics strongly associated with the sun: wings, fire and flame (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:261). Simpson (2003:278-283) recognises that these characteristics echo the wording, thought, and sequence of ideas contained in the Aten hymn,[28] which dates to the much earlier period, during the reign of Akhenaten (ca. 1400 BCE). Akhenaten emphasized the international supremacy of the sun disk and his own relation to it as a son.[29]

The possibility must be considered that many of the original connotations of an emblem were lost or altered through time and transference of cultures, but it is unlikely that when they occur in the same royal context, the symbolism of sun disk and wings of deity as sun have lost all solar connotations. In support of this conclusion Taylor (1993:113) refers to the worshipping of the sun as indicated in Ezekiel 8:16 and 2 Kings 23:11, which describes the reform process during which Josiah (reigned c. 640-625 BCE) removed the horses and chariots dedicated to the sun from the temple. He points out (Taylor 1993:259) that the passages which are often taken as forceful polemics against sun worship are "almost tantamount to an admission of the solar nature of the deity within their ancient Near Eastern context". It is the older body of Israelite literature which assigns solar language to Yahweh, but when some traditional features were eventually condemned as non-Yahwistic and ultimately passed from the national cult of Yahweh, other aspects, such as the Yahweh-El identification and the attribution of Baal's characteristics to Yahweh, continued to be acceptable.[30]

2.2.1 THE SON OF THE SUN-GOD AS KING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Baines (1995:147) points out that "From before 'history' began, Egyptian society centred on kingship" and this can be seen in the continuity of ritual connected to Egyptian kingship. Ancient Egypt presents a unique situation because in Egypt, unlike any of the

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[28] Cf. the new translation of the Aten hymn in Simpson (2003:279-283).

[29] Concerning Akhenaten's religion, Simpson (2003:278) notes that "whether the system can be considered monotheism is debateable", because Akhenaten (c. 1400 BCE), "interposed himself between the Aten (sun disk) and the people, with his worship directed to the Aten and the people's attention focused upon him as the son and interpreter of the Aten". Hornung (1999:54) stresses that the concept of the Aten was not that it was actually the sun disk, "but rather the *light* that is in the sun and which, radiating from it, calls the world to life and keeps it alive. Aten was a god of light". Cf. the Middle Stoic Posidonius (c.135 – c.50 BCE) who held that the sun was a 'life-giving force' (Ferguson 1993:340).

other ancient cultures, kingship was a divine institution (Grabbe 2001:29-31; Silverman 1995:61).[31] The pharaoh was conceived of as the "king of the gods", and the "son of Re" (the sun disc), thus stressing the divinity of the institution of kingship. The association of the sun disc with the pharaoh highlights the cosmological power of the "king of the gods".[32] In ancient Egypt the concept of the divine impinged onto the nature of the living king. When the king participated in rituals and ceremonies, he acted as a creator deity and high priest (Hornung 1992:1725). Through ritual he *became* the sun-god (Silverman 1995:xxv). All periods of ancient Egyptian culture produced an extremely large collection of inscriptions extolling the deified ruler.[33] However, Hornung (1995:1725) explains that although the pharaoh was only one who had the prerequisite magical capacities and was "in theory … the sole priest and mediator between the human and the divine", in practice, he delegated portions of his authority to priests, officials, and soldiers, since he could not personally celebrate every event all over his kingdom. This officialdom thus included mediators between pharaoh and the outside world.

It was thus the institution that was deified rather than the individual ruler, but in terms of myth (enacted ritually) the divine origin of the pharaoh as son (Horus) and image of the sun-god Re made him the ultimate mediator. In the Pyramid texts (c. 2350 BCE) spells are recorded which were designed to deify the king upon his death as Osiris. The god Osiris emerged during the Fifth Dynasty in Egypt (2494 to 2345 BCE) as god of the dead (Griffiths 1980:114) and was made into a divinity through ritual: funeral rites made him into Osiris, but coronation rites transformed the living pharaoh into Horus (Frankfort

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[30] See Appendix 1 on Monotheism and Yahweh.

[31] The idea that the king was divine reached its height in the New Kingdom under Amenhotep III and his son Akhenaton (1351-1333). According to Hodel-Hoenes (1991:59), in Egypt up to the end of the Old Kingdom (c. 2130) the king himself was regarded as a god, but by the New Kingdom the king could only be "godlike".

[32] The divine officials who serve the god and function as his administration, form his entourage (Troy 1989a:60). The nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead, appear as the court and council (ḏꜣḏꜣ.t magistrates) of the god-king.

[33] There is evidence to suggest that the divinity of the ruling king may well have been conceived of early in Egyptian history, but Silverman (1995:61) points out that these sources are mostly funerary in nature. People living at the time were quite aware of the vulnerablility and mortality of their living king - "his humanity constantly threw doubt upon this role". Allen (2000:31) qualifies this: "The Egyptians knew that the pharaoh was a human being, who had been born and would one day die. But unlike the rest of humanity, the pharaoh also possessed a divine power, because his will and actions could cause enormous changes in society, just like those of the gods".

1978:34; Hornung 1999:34). In the later cosmological Memphite theology (c.1250 BCE, during the reign of Rameses II c.1290-1220), Horus is acknowledged by the assembled gods as the legitimate heir to Osiris because he is the eldest son. The epithet "son of Re" which occurs with the nomen of the king already in the Fourth Dynasty, suggests that once coronation had taken place, that particular individual had become the son of the god, and he had therefore ascended to the realm of the divine, even though still living on earth (Silverman 1995:71). The actual occupancy of the throne creates a fusion of the powers of the late king and his successor, and, as Frankfort (1978:33, 35) puts it, this essential quality of Egyptian kingship expresses not the *praesens*, but the *perfectum.* Frankfort states that "there is a mystic communion between father and son at the moment of succession, and unity and continuity of divine power". Because Horus and Osiris are inseparable, the living Pharaoh was conceived of as a god incarnate.[34] In his exercise of office he manifests the god Horus, who becomes the god Osiris upon the pharaoh's death. The myth of Osiris and Horus clearly demonstrates the central paradox in Egyptian religion that by manifesting the sacred anything may become "something else" yet continues to remain itself for it continues to participate in its surrounding milieu.[35] This motif of ambiguity is a constant presence throughout Jewish angelology, even in the Book of Revelation, and is also discernable in the *Chaldean Oracles* and the *Apocryphon of John*.

2.2.2 THE ISRAELITE CONCEPT OF THE KINGSHIP OF GOD

The idea of a mortal king as a divine entity is also expressed by an ancient myth recorded during the Middle Kingdom (2040-1640) in *Papyrus Westcar* (Baines 1995:17; Silverman 1995:71). In *Papyrus Westcar* the father of King Shepseskaf (c.2491-2487 BCE), the last king of Dynasty 4, is Re of *Sakhebu* - a form of the sun god. The first three kings are "sons of Re" by a human mother: "Who is she, the aforementioned *Reddjedet*?

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[34] O'Connor and Silverman (1995:xxiii), Baines (1995:123), Hornung (1992:1716), and Mettinger (1976:273,274) all note that this does not imply that the king is intrinsically a god, or a god from birth (which would be nonsensical in view of the high mortality).

[35] This is explained by Frankfort (1978:71) on the following basis: to the ancient Egyptians all the elements of the universe were of one substance whether physical or spiritual, so that the name or the idea or a representation is enough to be an effective substitute. Because in their thinking a part can represent the whole, the original can be present in various places. Changes are explained very simply as two different

The *Djedi* said: She is the wife of a *wab*-priest of Re,[36] Lord of Sethebu, she being pregnant with the children of Re". Several sequences of scenes in temples of the New Kingdom (1539-664 BCE) clarify this ancient myth: the sun god Re sires the heir to the throne with an earthly woman of royal descent, thus endowing the progeny with a two-fold legitimacy for the future office - divinity and royal mortality (Frankfort 1978:32).

The idea of a divine "begetting" of the king is also perceptible in certain passages in the Hebrew bible (Byrne 1992:156). Kraus (1989:I 82-85) explored from whence the elements of kingship of God enters into the world of Israel's worship, and noted that the name מלך belongs to a religious-cultic complex of the "Most High God" originating in the Canaanite-Syrian area.[37] The intimate relations between God and king are a major theme of the royal psalms: the king is Yahweh's son (Grabbe 1995:27, 40; Kramer 1978:vi). Roberts (1992:51) presents the texts listed below to demonstrate that the concept of the king as a god descended among men, whose coronation was a divine epiphany, implies that the mythological language of divine sonship of the Egyptian pharaoh has influenced the Israelite royal ceremony.

a) Ps. 2:7 speaks of God giving birth to the king;

b) Psalm 89:27: "Also I will make him my firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth";

c) Ps 110:3 as amended by Kraus (Roberts 1992:43n.4) reads "like dew have I given birth to you";

d) Isa 9:5-6, after referring to the king's birth, assigns divine qualities to the king in a series of names analagous to the five royal names given to the new Pharaoh in the Egyptian enthronement ceremony.[38]

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states - a transformation or metamorphosis. Cf. Heraclitus (c.500 BCE) for his view that the world was essentially fire which changes to air, water and earth (Ferguson 1993:336).

[36] Here the *wab*-priest is understood to be of royal descent, i.e. royalty and priesthood are combined in one figure, as with Melchizedek.

[37] Kraus gives numerous examples which show that in the ancient near East there was a type of "highest God" who was pre-eminet over all other powers and spiritual forces (e.g. Marduk). Fletcher-Louis (1997:116) confirms that "it is accepted that ancient near Eastern beliefs surrounding the activity of kings has left some impression on Old Testament literature".

[38] Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace (KJV).

The implication of these texts ultimately extends to the portrayal of the enthronement in heaven of Jesus in early Christian texts such as Hebrews. Mach (1999:22) suggests that the role of Jewish angelology should be re-thought, and that the divine aspect of Jesus should be understood in the light of Jewish angelology of the Second Temple Period as conceived by the early Jewish Christians. I hypothesize that a precursor to the divine sonship of Jesus can be seen in a concept that was already present in the institution of ancient Egyptian divine kingship. The ingenious Egyptian mythology about Osiris and Horus goes some way to prepare the ground for the manifestation of Christ as Son of God, King of kings and Lord of lords in Revelation.[39] In the chapters that follow, this hypothesis will be tested.

Two crucial concepts as portrayed in Egyptian myth and ritual provide a pattern for mediation between heaven and earthly life: 1) the concept of a supreme God as the king of the gods, and 2) the concept of the mortal king as divine, and thus the only one worthy of carrying out every cultic act in the temple (Hornung 1999:5). The ambiguity discussed at the end of section 1 in this chapter, is also a factor in these two concepts, in terms of the Israelite concept of extension of the "vital power of Yahweh in his messengers or even in other of his possessions" (e.g. the Ark in Num 10:35). The next section considers the combination in the throne of God in heaven of the two separate threads, A) God as king of the Divine council, and B) the earthly king as mediator of supreme solar power.

The NRSV removes the comma between "Wonderful" and "Counsellor", thus making four divine qualities rather than the traditional Egyptian five. This is in conformity to the way the BHS is set out in Elliger"s version, but Codex Alexandrinus has "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty One, Potentate, Prince of Peace". The LXX translation has also eliminated the traces of Egyptian influence: Μεγάλης Βουλῆς ἄγγελος "The Messenger of great counsel". KJV notes that the word for "wonderful" פלא, is translated at Jdg 13:18 KJV (פלאי) as "secret" (the name of the angel of the Lord, who subsequently disappears in the flame of the altar), and LXX as θαυμαστόν. NRSV is more consistent in translating it as "wonderful" at both positions.

[39] This is not to say that other influences, for instance from the Old Testament, did not play a role as well.

2.3 SECTION 3: THE EARLIEST CONNECTION OF THREADS A AND B

The earliest fusion of threads A and B is already perceptible in the Egyptian "Calendar Texts" dating to the 20th dynasty (1196-1070 BCE). Re the sun god is the king of the gods, and has a court of gods around him, with Thoth as the foremost god who reads aloud the orders of the king, and plays a specific role as administrative representative of the king, helped amongst others, by Ptah (Troy 1989b:130). In the Memphite theology (ca.1250 BCE), when Memphis was established as capital, the god Ptah was proclaimed to have been the First Principle, taking precedence over other recognised creator-gods. Ptah is proclaimed the "Creator of All" - all other gods and living beings are derived from Ptah's action as a demiurge, and thus even Atum[40] is an emanation of Ptah. The aim of the Memphite theology was to equate Ptah with Atum, thus making him the chief god of Memphis, the creator-god and guarantor of the institution of kingship. The extant form of the following document describing the Memphite Theology of Creation (Pritchard 1955:4-5) dates only to 700 BCE, but linguistic, philological and geopolitical evidence supports its derivation from an original text more than two thousand years older. Dunand and Zivie-Coche date this text to the Ramesside Period (c.1300-1100), and their understanding is that here the *Ennead*, which was closely linked to Atum, is a hypostasis of Ptah. Through the action of Ptah, "the unity that existed before the cosmos was organized into deities with plurality and differentiation":

> "He who manifested himself as heart, he who manifested himself as tongue, under the appearance of Atum, it was Ptah, the great and ancient, who gave life to all the gods and to their *kas* by means of this heart from which Horus emerged, by means of this tongue from which Thoth emerged, in Ptah."
>
> Dunand and Zivie-Coche (2002:41, 57).

Pritchard's translation (1985:1) is more specific:

> "Ptah thought of and created by speech the creator-god Atum ("Totality"), thus transmitting the divine power of Ptah to all other gods".[41]

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[40] Atum is the primeval god of Heliopolis who emerged from the primeval waters, Nun.

[41] The affinity of this theogeny with Platonism (see chapter 5) is inescapable, and raises questions about priority of influence.

2.3.1 THE UGARITIC CONNECTION BETWEEN PTAH, THOTH AND ISRAEL

Keel and Uehlinger (1998:259) link Phoenician and Egyptian religion and also recognise this influence on Israel: "Phoenician culture was thoroughly acquainted with Egyptian religious ideas and there is no reason to assume that the Israelites did not have at least a modest acquaintance with them". The meagre remnants of evidence of the transmission of this connection, and the significance of the connection between Thoth, Ptah and Hermes are described in Appendix 2 and in chapter 6. The link from Egypt to Syro-Phoenician mythology is perceptible in the Hebrew bible, and has vital implications for Israelite concepts of kingship and the throne of God. The great international city of Ugarit, where seven languages have been discovered,[42] was destroyed in c. 1200-1190 BCE. The states of Israel and Judah probably arose nearly two centuries later, but according to Wyatt (2003:22) the linguistic and literary connections between Ugarit and Syro-Phoenicia are considerable. Ugarit was on a main trade route, so that mutual influences between Egypt, Ugarit and Syro-Phoenicia must have occurred.[43] Mullen (1980:114) citing Albright (1968:193), refers to the "clear example of direct Egyptian influence upon the mythology of the Ugarit texts".[44] This is evidenced in the connection of Ptah of Memphis with the Ugaritic craftsman-god Kotar (Kothar-and-Kasis). The transfer of primary evidence of this is detailed in five stages up to Albright in 1968, in Appendix 2. Wyatt (2003:43) deduces that Kothar is an Ugaritic form of Ptah, because the form *qsr* (loan word from West Semitic *ktr*) is found in Egypt as an epithet of Ptah. He states (Wyatt 2003:89 n.83) that "Kothar is of course Ptah, the artificer (craftsman) god ("lord") of Memphis".[45] Smith (1985:104) understands this association of the abode

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[42] Early Hebrew is also indirectly related to the Ugaritic language.

[43] Cornelius (1999:587) notes that Egyptian statuary from the Middle Kingdom reflects the influence of Egypt in Ugarit.

[44] These texts all date from the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. Some were in Akkadian, the international language of the Assyrians and Babylonians, which was used specially for communication between states, especially Egypt (Parker 1997:2). Ugarit was predominantly under Egyptian influence up to c. 1350 BCE. The native language of Ugarit written in cuneiform script was North West Semitic. These texts provide some of the background of mythological aspects of the Hebrew Bible - "a world of gods ... that is still dimly reflected in the surviving Hebrew literature" (Parker 1997:2).

[45] In the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.2 i lines 30-34 (Wyatt 2003:61) El sends messengers to Kothar-and-Kasis in Memphis, the "House of the *ka* of Ptah" (Ug. *hkpt*).

of Kothar with Memphis the home of Ptah as an indication of "an ancient recognition of the similarities of these two gods of the crafts". [46]

In the following Ugaritic text, *KTU* 2.1, (*CAT* col. V) lines 30-34, the envoys from Yam rise in the assembly with tongues that appear like flaming swords and deliver the message as they have been instructed:

> "Standing upright, they then spoke,
> they [proclaimed] their message.
>
> As a great blaze they appeared; [47]
> a sharpened sword was their tongue.
>
> They spoke to Bull his father, El:
> 'Message of Yam, your[48] master,
> of your lord, Ruler Nahar.'"

<div align="right">Tr. Wyatt (2003:61).</div>

The fiery messengers are those of Yam - traditionally the god of chaos and destruction, but in *KTU* 1/1 iv 20 El himself transmits his royal authority to Yam with laying on of hands. The very ancient association of fire and a sword with the messengers of the god(s) demonstrated above, is also found in the Hebrew bible: "And at the east of the garden of Eden he (the Lord God, יהוה אלהים), placed the cherubim, הכרבים and a flaming sword, ואת להט החרב which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life" (Gen 3:24 KJV). Here, a flaming sword, a separate entity (Cornelius 1997:22) but working together with the *cherubim*, prevents mankind's access to the sanctuary where God's presence was no longer freely accessible.

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[46] Wyatt (2001:29) perceives the cultures of the Ancient Near East as a "seamless robe", so that in addition, cross-fertilization from a variety of cultural contacts will have contributed to the growth of symbolic ideas and practices. Cornelius (1994:2) points out that during the Late Bronze Age religious exchange was especially common between Egypt and Canaan, and there were strong links between Egypt and the region of Syro-Palestine.

[47] Here Parker's translation (1997:100) reads: 'A flame, two flames they appear,' and Hallo's translation (1997:246) reads: 'They look like a fire, two fires.'

[48] Wyatt (2003:61) notes that this includes all the assembled gods and is deliberately ironical in Baal's presence.

The gods who served as messengers in the Ugaritic texts were apparently dispatched in pairs (Wyatt 2003:43). In addition to this characteristic which they have in common with the cherubim guarding the entrance to the garden of Eden, they have the association with a sword and fire. Hendel (1985:672) interprets the phrase as refering to "the magical weapon of Yahweh", standing by itself beside the cherubim. Hendel (1985:672, 673) notes that the West Semitic god *Resheph*, whose name means "flame", belongs to the same class of beings as the flame להט in that they are both "fiery" members of Yahweh's divine entourage. He is not suggesting that the flaming sword is the god Resheph, but following Miller (1965:259) who states that "the cherubim and the flaming sword are probably to be recognized as a reflection of the Canaanite fiery messengers",[49] he proposes that Gen 3:24, ואת להט החרב המתהפכת (LXX 3:24: καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην), the "flaming sword which turned every way" (KJV) or "flame of the whirling sword",[50] is an independent fiery being, a divine being in service to Yahweh, in precisely the same mythological category as the *cherubim*. This implies that, as in Psalm 104:4 עשה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש להט (LXX Psalm 103:4 ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον; KJV 104:4 "Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire"), the "flame" is an animate divine being - a member of Yahweh's divine host, similar in status to the *cherubim*. This basic concept of the "flame" as angelic is perceptible in varying manifestations in almost all the texts dealt with in this dissertation. Reifenberg (1950:26) identified the biblical cherub with the very ancient winged sphinx, and they occur in precisely the same functions, as guardians and carriers of a throne.[51] The biblical *cherubim* become complex angelological symbols in Ezekiel 1 and 10, intimately associated with God's throne in heaven.

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[49] Presumably Miller in 1965 was still using the term "Canaanite" loosely, to include Ugarit.
[50] Hendel's translation of Gen 3:24.
[51] In the Priestly tabernacle the cherubim are no longer throne bearers but serve as guardians of the mercy seat from which the divine Glory speaks to Israel, and thus the iconography of P may have a different, Egyptian background. Keel and Uelinger (1998:168) suggest that the impulse for the cherub throne came from Phoenicia, where they were used from the end of the second millennium. They point out that "the most magnificent power in the creaturely world" is contained in the cherub - lion, eagle or vulture, and human face, and are probably intended to reflect the nature of the figure enthroned above them.

In Isaiah 6:1-8 Isaiah sees Yahweh as king on his throne in the heavenly temple, with the seraphim above him, constantly intoning praises to God. The seraphim of Isaiah are "fire" and "light" beings, with human characteristics like hands, feet, eyes, and are able to utter the *trisagion*. However, the Hebrew word שָׂרָף designates a serpent, possibly from *siru* - cuneiform for serpent (Joines 1974:55 n.12), but the Septuagint simply transliterates the term שְׂרָפִים "seraphim" as σεραφιν in Isa 6:2. If the name is taken from the root "to burn", then the description of these flaming winged creatures would fit well with the description of the winged allies of El (Eusebius *Praep.Evang.*1.10.37), and the flamelike, fiery messengers of Yam (Mullen 1980:207). At Num 21:6, 8 and Deut 8:15 "fiery serpents" are referred to, and in Isa 14:29 and 30:6, a fiery flying serpent is referred to. The Egyptian *uraeus* entered the Near Eastern imagery in the second millennium.   In the first millennium the four-winged *uraeus* was particularly popular, and with very few exceptions, is exclusively Hebrew (Sass 1993:212).[52] Reifenberg (1950:30, 31) presents a seal from Palestine similar to Fig. 1 d, of the period of the Kings "Belonging to Shaphat" depicting a four-winged *uraeus* bearing the crown of Upper Egypt.[53] Winged serpents represent sacred sovereignty, whether of pharaoh or of the gods, and some artefacts depict the *uraeus* as a winged serpent with hands and feet (Joines 1974:49, 51). (See Fig. 5). The four-winged *lmlk* ("dedicated to the king") scarab and other solar motifs are also quite frequent on Hebrew personal seals (Sass 1993:238). (See Fig. 1 f).

2.4 SUMMARY

I hypothesize a far-reaching effect on Jewish angelology of the unique concept of Egyptian divine kingship, conveyed through myth and ritual.[54] Although the link from

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[52] Swanson (2002:463) deduces from 2 Kings 18:4 that the bronze serpent had been worshipped in the temple for a long time, and that it may have been the Egyptian royal symbol of the *uraeus* cobra. He notes that Egyptian protective amulets with this motif were very popular in Palestine during Iron Age II (1000-600 BCE).

[53] The *uraeus* is often invested with wings to imply the swiftness and extent of the divine qualities. The four wings represent the extension of the royal dominion to the four corners of the earth (Joines 1974:48; Allen 1994:28).

[54] Gruenwald (2003:94) explains the relevance of myth for the understanding of ritual in ancient Judaism as follows: "Myth is not a stepchild of culture.   It is a mode of cognition and form of expression in its own right.   Furthermore, there is no longer any reason to measure it against scientific knowledge, nor is any philosophical-allegorical interpretation required to justify its cognitive validity."

Egypt to Syro-Phoenician mythology cannot be categorically proven because of the extreme chronological distance, I suggest that in terms of apperceptive mass it had vital implications for Israelite concepts of kingship and the throne of God, and that Ugaritic mythology was a contributing factor to the synthesis of Egyptian religious concepts with Yahweh. The analogies are still discernable in much later texts, for example Daniel chapter 10. The intimate contacts that the Israelite patriarchs had with Egypt,[55] and subsequent political contacts during the bronze age, actually provide the explanation of how, under the influence of the monarchy in the first millennium, the sun became one component of the symbolic repertoire of the chief God in Israel. The king in Egypt was, through ritual, made a divine mediator. This was also expressed in Judean royal theology and in this way the concept of a combination of both divine and human dimensions was incorporated into Judaean kingship.

The concept of God as king is hinted at in the Hebrew texts which are to be discussed in the next two chapters. These associations seen in this chapter of sun/fire/light with the throne of El/Elohim, who functions as the supreme judge, are elaborated and strengthened in Ezekiel 1 and 10, and form a constantly appearing motif in almost all of the texts studied for this dissertation. In chapter 3 the solar/fire associations with divine kingship from Egypt and the Ugaritic texts quoted above, are brought into relation with aspects of the throne supported by the "living beings"/*cherubim* and *ophanim* as revealed in the visions of Ezekiel in chapters 1 and 10 and in two texts from Qumran: *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. As this study of the texts in their approximate chronological order proceeds, crucial changes in the use of the angelological motifs of sun/fire and throne become evident.

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[55] Assmann (1997:70) suggests that the Israelites to whom the Law was given should be seen as culturally Egyptian - their "ethnicity" did not yet exist, and Luckert (1991:125) reminds us that Moses "the Egyptian aristocrat" must have studied Amun theology thoroughly. Cf. van Huyssteen (2006:29) "… the boundaries that separate tradition from its milieu are always exceedingly porous, although as theologians we often notoriously invent protective strategies that mask the necessary fluidity of traditions".

CHAPTER 3

THREAD A AND B COME TOGETHER
AT THE THRONE OF GOD IN HEAVEN

3.1 SECTION 1. EZEKIEL 1 AND 10

3.1.1 DATE AND TEXT CRITICAL ISSUES

According to Zimmerli (2003:96) Ezekiel was a priest exiled in 598 BCE, eleven years
before the final defeat of Judah. He lived with a Judean group in Tel Abib on the Chebar
canal near the Babylonian city of Nippur. It is generally assumed that the Book of Ezekiel
was written during this time. Levey (1987:3) sees the prophecy of Ezekiel as "a
masterpiece of religio-political philosophy which enabled the Jew to weather the crisis of
the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of Judah as a political entity, and the Babylonian
Exile". He perceives Ezekiel's vision of the *merkabah* as the means of deliverance of the
Judean people from total oblivion, in that it is a statement that though the earthly Temple
was destroyed there was a heavenly throne of Yahweh beyond the reach of Babylonian
might – "a supermundane Power, enthroned on high, resplendent in glory, awesome to
contemplate, imperceptible to the mere mortal". Six hundred years later by means of the
Targum of Ezekiel,[1] this vision was again "the instrument for the preservation of the ego-
structure of the Jewish people after the destruction of the Second Temple". Mach
(1999:42) notes that whenever Jewish identity underwent a crisis "exalted angels or the
like" were introduced. In this chapter the text of Ezekiel 1 and 10 is examined closely for
angelological content. It is there, but has to be interpreted/decoded and the text as it has
come down to us has to be examined for redaction. The two texts from Qumran, *Songs of*

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[1] Dated by Levey (1987:3) to round about the time immediately following the catastrophe of 70 CE, when
Rabban Johannan ben Zakkai established Yavneh and its sages as the rallying point of a resurgent Jewish
community.

Sabbath Sacrifice and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* dealt with in part 2, help to clarify the textual history of Ezekiel 1 and 10 as well as the development of Jewish angelology.

The discussion of Ezekiel 1 and 10 is based on the MT as presented in BHS, which is based on the tenth century CE Codex St. Petersburg. Because this source is so late, recourse must be taken to the Septuagint for study purposes. Currently the best available reconstruction of the OG is Ziegler's Göttingen edition, revised in 1977. Ziegler's main witnesses are the Uncial B (Ms Vaticanus) and Pap. 967. Uncial B is dated to the 4th C CE (Ziegler 1977:7) and is "tacitly assumed" to be the "Septuagint", but according to Jellicoe (1968:177), the text of this Codex is far from uniform in value, and has been widely identified with the early Alexandrian recension of Hesychius. The Uncial B manuscript was the principal source for Rahlf's LXX, used together with Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus, but Rahlf's text is eclectic and he frequently corrected the Greek (Lust 1993:118). The pre-Hexaplaric Chester-Beatty - John H. Scheide fragments of Ezekiel (Pap. 967) are aligned to B rather than A (Jellicoe 1968:187), but unfortunately Ezekiel chapters 1 to 11 are not extant in this our earliest witness. However, Qumran fragments 4Q Ezekiel a are available, and these are taken into account in this chapter, and thereby bring new aspects of Ezekiel's visions in Ezekiel 1 and 10 to light.

In general, Lust (1993:111) determined that the syntax of the Septuagint as a whole is Hebrew rather than Greek, i.e. it contains "translationisms", and Barr (1987:269) warns that the setting of the LXX in the Egyptian community indicates a lack of reliable knowledge of the meaning of obscure Hebrew words because of the complete domination of Greek within the country. Halperin (1982:351) recognises that "textual critics plausibly treat the hypothetical *Vorlage* of LXX as if it were a variant Hebrew manuscript reading; they sometimes argue that it is superior to MT and emend the Hebrew text accordingly", but he points out that the LXX is a translation, which reflects the religious needs and exegetical perceptions of Alexandrian Jews in the third and second centuries BCE. The need for cautious use of the traditionally "weighty" sources, and correction of the currently accepted reconstruction is borne out for example by attestation in 4Q

Ezekiel b of verse 14 of Ezekiel 10, which has not been included in the OG reconstruction, because it was regarded as a gloss. Verse 14 of Ezekiel 1, indications of which are present at Qumran, has also been excluded from the LXX on a gloss basis, but conveys important angelological information which is vital for the understanding of *merkabah* mysticism.

Lust (2002a:378) agrees with Ziegler that papyrus 967 is our best source for the original Septuagint text of Ezekiel, and suggests that as the shorter text, it preserved the earliest text form. Tov (1981:281, 293) points out for instance, that contrary to the rule that the shorter readings are original, no short reading should automatically be considered original, because scribal omissions often cannot be distinguished easily from content omissions or additions, and all evaluation of retroversion of variants is "completely subjective". There have been many attempts to explain the pluses and minuses in the OG as due to glosses of various kinds during the redaction process, and Lust recognises that the pluses in the Hebrew text, especially in Ezekiel, are often qualified as glosses (Lust 1999:30). Freedy (1970:130) attempted to classify the glosses in Ezekiel 1 to 24, reducing the number that Fohrer described in his systematization of 1951 to less than half. He recognises glosses as extraneous additions when they use reverse gender within the context of the account in which they are used, and suggests that these instances of reverse gender represent a scribal convention designed to call attention to the fact that the word involved is a gloss and is not intended to be considered part of the text. He labels this type a cue gloss. Most occur in Ezekiel chapter 1, and have reference to the "living creatures" which are feminine in grammatical form, but masculine in physical description. He notes (Freedy 1970:130) that although the recognition and excision of glosses in many places in MT Ezekiel 1 and 10 restore the syntax of the original and "this provides better access to a proper analysis and interpretation of the tradition", the insertion of glosses is a valuable indication of the nature of the tradition and manner in which it grew.[2] Fishbane (1985:41) notes the tendency of past scholars to isolate glosses on the basis of implicit and subjective criteria, "frequently without systematic recourse to

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[2] However, some scholars have found other significance in these phenomena which will be discussed as they are encountered during the development of this dissertation.

inner or comparative textual factors". He criticizes Freedy's methodology, but supports him in his valuing of "secondary additions to the *Vorlage*" as reflecting definite exegetical procedures, which can be effective in dating texts.[3]

Lust (1986b:19) concluded that the OG of Ezekiel is significantly shorter than MT, and that although both the MT and the Septuagint of Ezekiel may have preserved a "final form" of the book, the MT is a further developed version than the LXX. However, Greenberg (1977: 133) considers the treatment of glosses in Ezekiel in the commentaries of Fohrer (1955), Eichrodt (1965-6) and especially Zimmerli (1979), as completely arbitrary. This impression is reinforced when one considers the summary relegation of Ezekiel 1:14 and Ezekiel 10:14 as glosses, especially in the light of attestation at Qumran. Sanderson (1997:211) confirms this impression when she presents the following information about Ezekiel 1:14 and Ezekiel 10:14: 4Q Ezekiel b Col IV Frgs 5-6 lines 1 and 2, have a space (illegible due to damage) where Ezekiel 1:14 and 15 would have been, and continues on the next line with part of Ez 1:16, and 4Q Ezekiel a Frg. I lines 13 and 14 have the following words of Ez 10:14: וארן]בעה and [והשלשי] . Lust (1999:17) notes that although he regards verse 14 of Ezekiel 1 as a later addition to the MT, it seems to have been the inspiration for 4Q405. (This latter text is discussed in Part 2.) Thus my reasoning is that Ezekiel 1:14 must be taken seriously as part of the apperceptive mass of the Qumran author, and not excluded as irrelevent to the answers sought as to the beliefs about angels in that community (c.100 BCE-70 CE), even if not originally present. Therefore in this study Codex *Alexandrinu*s (5th or 6th century CE), is referred to for verses 14 in both Ezekiel 1 and 10, because although present in MT, these verses are not present in the OG reconstruction by Ziegler. According to Jellicoe (1968:187) the papyrus discoveries of recent years witness to the very ancient text which Codex *Alexandrinus* has preserved in parts despite its assimilation to other recensions.[4] Of the so-called "Great Uncials" only B (Codex Vaticanus) is extant in Ezekiel 1 and 10 for comparative purposes with Codex *Alexandrinus* (Jellicoe 1968:187-8). Jellicoe notes

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[3] Fishbane (1985:39) notes that the "remarkably limited nature of these tendentious or intentional additions, given the long history of textual transmission, proves the strength of inner-cultural censorship".

that A "not infrequently displays a remarkable affinity with Jerome in those passages in which he deviates from the Old Latin". Jellicoe concludes that Codex *Alexandrinus* reflects an eclectic rather than an independent translator, and that his regnant principle was selection rather than conflation.

Stylistic qualities such as *inclusios*, ring compositions, and chiastic structures function usefully as an indication of the underlying intention of the author which otherwise may have been lost in translation.[5] In this study of Ezekiel 1 and 10 each word was aligned to the OG translation, so that comparison of pluses and minuses and translation style could be noted.[6] Significant differences are included in the discussion below. The Greek-English lexicon by Lust, Eynikel and Hauspie is designated LEH, and the Hebrew-English lexicon by Koehler and Baumgartner is designated KB.

Uehlinger and Trufaut (2001:143) and Zimmerli (2003:96) suggest that because the setting of the Book of Ezekiel indicates that the prophet-priest lived among Judahite exiles at Tel-Abib near Nippur in southern Babylonia, and that cosmology and astral phenomena were a major concern of first millennium BCE Mesopotamia, this environment is the source of the strange apparitions in Ezekiel's vision.[7] The relevant motifs are discussed below, in order to demonstrate the blending of the Divine council thread A and the solar/fire/light elements of thread B.

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[4] For instance the Rylands Papyrus Greek 458, published in 1936 by C H Roberts, though containing only about 15 verses of Deuteronomy, shows a remarkable agreement with the text of A, which thus takes this part of Codex Alexandrinus back to the second century BCE.
[5] Cf. Greenberg (1977:136): "Chiastic alternation (in Ezekiel MT) occurs frequently, always indicating interrelation, often resumption".
[6] Following the method of McLay (1996:1-28).
[7] Annus (2002:188, 191) sees the post-exilic influence of Ninurta as "the defender of the divine world order", as the origin of the imagery of the throne vision in Ez 1:26, 27. He describes a Babylonian mystical text (Livingstone 1986:822f.) in which the god Bel is seated on a throne of lapis lazuli and surrounded by "a gleam of amber". Livingstone (1986:260) notes that the colophon of the Babylonian tablet explicitly attests that the information on it was considered to be esoteric. Kingsley (1992:345) suggests that the secret cultural transmission from the Babylonian priestly tradition to the strongly guarded rabbinic tradition took place not by peripheral cultural contact, but from "heart" to "heart" of the esoteric tradition in both cultures.

3.1.2 THE ANGELS OF THE MERKABAH (EZEKIEL 1 AND 10)

The angels of the *merkabah* are considered in the following groups: 1) the four living beings in Ezekiel 1; 2) the four *ophanim* in Ezekiel 1; 3) the four *ophanim* in Ezekiel 10, sometimes named *galgal*; 4) the throne of God in Ezekiel 1:22-27 and Ezekiel 10:1.

3.1.2.1 THE FOUR LIVING BEINGS חיות IN EZEKIEL 1

The חיות "living beings" are described in Ezekiel 1, Ezekiel 10, and also in 4Q Ezekiel a and b, and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (García Martínez 1994:286).

Ezekiel 1:4:
The author describes his vision of a gale coming from the North with a great mass of clouds and a fire "flashing here and there" (מתלקחת),[8] rendered in OG by the participle ἐξαστράπτον[9] a neologism (Lust 1999:158) derived from ἐξαστράπτω "to flash as with lightning" (LEH 158). Greenberg (1983:43) notes that the meaning of מתלקחת is uncertain, but that here and at the only other place where it occurs in the OT, in Exodus 9:24, a supernatural fire is denoted - perhaps fire "burning in the air as a fiery mass without having an object onto which it has caught".

"... and brightness around him ...". Lust (1999:11) notes the transposition of "brightness (נגה, φέγγος) ... and flashing fire" in the OG as opposed to the "fire flashing here and there and brightness around him" of MT. In the MT "flashing" is situated between "fire" and "brightness". This may indicate a chiastic structure that has been omitted in translation, or at least a highlighting of the word לקח, whereas the OG translator, by mentioning "flashing here and there" last, may have struggled with the meaning of לקח

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[8] *Hitp. Participle* of לקח. Appears only here and at Ex 9:24 in a magical context: "fire flashing continually" (NRSV).
[9] Discussed again at verse 7.

in this context, (especially as he used a neologism), or it may simply reflect a different *Vorlage*.[10]

".. and from the middle like the colour כעין [11] of electron/bronze/ *hashmal* החשמל ..".

Here *hashmal* is determined, seeming to imply that it is an important substance in its own right. According to Uehlinger and Trufaut (2001:160) *hashmal* has the meaning "gleaming, brilliance", and they understand this meaning also at Ez 1:7, 16, and 22 as well, where the word *hashmal* does not appear. Greenberg (1983:43) states that *hashmal* "belongs to the heart of the vision of Majesty" as also seen in v. 27, and later came to be regarded as endowed with holy and dangerous properties.[12] *Hashmal* has been mentioned in texts from Ugarit in chapter 2, and is discussed in the Excursus below, and again in Chapter 8.

EXCURSUS: *HASHMAL* חשמל

Halperin (1988:4) notes that no one is yet quite sure what Ezekiel meant by *hashmal*. It has been described as a "quasi-mythical precious stone of great brilliancy" (Greenberg 1983:43), and it is variously translated as bronze (NRSV) or amber (KJV). The LXX uses the word ἤλέκτρον. In modern Hebrew *hashmal* means electricity, and interestingly, amber has static electricity. Andrews (1994:105) describes *hashmal* as "both a naturally occurring and an artificially produced compound of which the main constituents are gold and

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[10] Syro-Phoenician influence is reflected in that the concept of the clouds and lightning is associated with Baal: for instance in CAT at Col iv L1 6-9 Kothar-and-Khasis addresses Baal as "O prince Baal, I repeat (to you), O rider on the clouds ... ".

[11] Paranuk (1980:63) translates כעין as "like the gleam of", but according to Greenberg (1983:43) it literally means "like the colour of", from עין - colour, as in Lev. 13:5,55; Num 11:7; Prov 23:31. In this position OG has ὡς ὅρασις, "seeing, the sense of sight", probably from the association of "eye". It appears in this chapter in the following five places. It is translated consistently in this dissertation as "like the colour of". All five the appearances of כעין in this chapter describe the dazzling light associated with the throne of God, remarkably evenly spaced throughout the chapter:

כעין החשמל	amber	v.4	upper throne figure
כעין נחשת קלל	polished brass	v. 7bβ	feet of the living being
כעין תרשיש	chrysolite/beryl	v.16	wheels
כעין הקרח הנורא	terrible crystal	v. 22	platform
כעין חשמל	amber	v.27	upper throne figure

[12] Plato, who lived approximately 200 years after Ezekiel's vision, gives a remarkably sound, though general, description of the basics of atomic theory in his description of *hashmal*, using the same Greek word as is used in the translation of *hashmal* in the LXX - ἤλέκτρον, which Bury (1966:214, 215) notes is amber: "Furthermore, as regards all flowings of waters, and fallings of thunderbolts, and the marvels concerning the attraction of electron, and of the Heraclean stone (loadstone or magnet) - not one of all these ever possesses any real power of attraction; but the fact that there is no void, and that these bodies propel themselves round one into another, and that according as they separate or unite they all exchange places and proceed severally each to its own region, - it is by means of these complex and reciprocal processes that such marvels are wrought, as will be evident to him who investigates them properly" (Plato: *Timaeus* 80C, trans. Bury (1966:215)).

silver". Most ancient Egyptian gold contains various proportions of silver (up to 20%) and this makes it harder than pure gold. According to the Egyptians themselves it was obtained in this impure form from sources located to the south, notably Nubia and Punt. It was being manufactured into amulets at least as early as the Old Kingdom (2649-2150) (Andrews 1994:105).

Because of the mystery surrounding the word, I have taken recourse to every available reference to it. In spite of the fact that the understanding of 11th Century Rabbinic interpretations as presented by VanGemeren (1974) occured in a completely different cultural context, these interpretations are helpful in confirming that the text contains underlying angelological content. In Ezekiel 1 the concurrence of a cloud, fire, and brightness suggests to R. Eliezer of Beaugenci (c. 1175) that Ezekiel's vision is in fact a theophany. Flashes of lightning appear to go out of the cloud at different points, but the *hashmal* becomes problematic in this context, so R. Eliezer deduces that the *hashmal* is a "natural" phenomenon which may be likened to the brilliant and blinding light of the sun, as reflected by the waves of water or the bright light of a flame shooting forth from a fire (cf. Iamblichus on divination in *de Mysteriis* Chapter 3.14). In Ez 1:4 the phrase "from the midst of it" (the fire) seems to support this conclusion, as a solar corona's halo extends in streams to a great distance from the sun (VanGemeren 1974:145). According to Rabbi Eliezer of Beaugenci, c.1175 (VanGemeren 1974:120) " ... it is written that *hashmal* is 'like the appearance of fire enclosed round about'. The *hashmal* surrounds the fire, and is on the outside of it 'since it goes out into the atmosphere of the world'". The Pseudo-Joseph commentary on Ezekiel (c.1150) concludes that the word *hashmal* refers to the bright fire which flashes forth from the cloud - more specifically, the flame of fire (VanGemeren 1974:87) "a very pure and clear brightness ... like a tongue of fire leaping from the fire", coming from the midst of the fire. Rabbi Solomon Ben Isaac (Rashi, 1040-1105CE) comments that the Midrashic explanation is "creatures of fire are speaking". He also comments that it is not permitted to consider either Ez 1:27 or 8:2, the only places in the Hebrew Bible where *hashmal* is mentioned (Van Gemeren 1974:24, 30, 31).

THE POSSIBLE LINGUISTIC CONNECTION OF *HASHMAL* TO SERAPHIM: THE CONNECTIONS WITH חשמל, נחשת, נחש and שרפים

The word נחשת is translated at Ez 1:7bβ in the OG as χαλκός, bronze, but Greenberg (1983:43) identifies it as *hashmal*. This association here of השמל with נחשת by Greenberg is interesting in providing a possible clue to the concept of bronze as a "magical" or supernatural quality, in relation to the *seraphim*, the Egyptian *uraeus* and the bronze serpent of Moses. The Hebrew root נחש (serpent), as a symbol could be both malevolent and/or benevolent. When serpentine characteristics are attributed to men they are generally evil, but the "brass serpent" is regarded as the "true serpent" who saves Israel in the wilderness. The tradition of Moses's use of the bronze serpent is that of sympathetic magic - a representative of a noxious creature could best drive off that creature (Joines 1974:87). Another cultic symbol of the serpent is of recurring life and fertility because it sheds its skin annually. The upright braided serpents of the *caduceus* represent general fertility ensured by the union of the male and female snakes copulating (Joines 1974:118). At the "very heart of the cultic serpent symbol was the significance of life ... by 742 BCE it was a worthy token of the royalty of Israel's God". Joines (1974:103) notes that the Deuteronomic historian never condemns the serpent symbol. She concludes (1974:63) that the bronze serpent was common to Canaanite Palestine and to neighbouring territories as a cultic symbol, and was used from at least the end of the Chalcolithic Age (4000-3500) to the Persian Period. In Appendix 5 the Gnostic gem witnesses to the fact that the bronze serpent was still represented as a winged *uraeus* during the Ptolemaic period (100 BCE).

Davies (1986:194) lists the pre-Israelite symbolism of the serpent in Palestine as follows:
1) the *uraeus*, a benevolent protector, giver of wisdom, and healer, as represented by hooded-breasted cobras and amuletic scarabs,[13] thus symbolizing the good vs. evil myth of order overcoming disorder.
2) The fertility goddess association - good when in association with Baal, evil when associated with Mot.

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[13] In Hellenistic-Roman times *Agathon* Daimon, the good demon (spirit) was represented as a snake, a protective household spirit, and Asclepius' emblem of a serpent twined around a walking stick was adapted to the caduceus of Hermes (Ferguson 1993:166, 208).

3) "Metal" serpents in association with ritual sites or temples, eg. a Midianite silver-covered bronze serpent probably made to honour the same God as the "brass serpent" which Israel honoured. This was the symbol of Yahweh, which remained important in Israel and Judah until Hezekiah destroyed the נחשתן because the people of Israel had worshipped it (2 Ki 18:4).

Davies (1986:213) states that "it is impossible to draw any conclusions about the 'copper' origins of נחש. It is even more difficult to determine from the context of the נחש root, translated as 'copper', whether the *Nehushtun* received its name because it was made from 'copper' or because it was in the form of a 'serpent'". According to Joines, (1974:61,62) *nehushtan* could be derived from either "serpent נחש, or נחשת "bronze", and when used as a proper noun probably means "serpent-idol of bronze". It may also be the development of a play on words between the similar terms for serpent and bronze. I propose that the context of the substance *hashmal* חשמל described in Ez 1:7, 27; 8:2, provides a clue to the connection, as detailed below.

1) In Ez 1:7 the "four living creatures" are described as נחשת קלל. "..and they sparkled like burnished brass".[14] According to Holladay (1988:235) the word נחשת means bronze. It is the same word used at Dan 10:6 to describe the arms and legs of the man clothed in linen.

2) In Gen 3:1 ff and in Ex 4:3 and 7:9, 15 in the context of the magical transformation of the rod into a serpent, נחש is used for "serpent". In Nu 23:23; 24:1 the same Hebrew word is used for bewitchment, magic curse. The Piel form is used in Gen 44:15; 30:27 in the sense of "to seek and give an omen, practice divination" (Holladay 1988:235). In Numbers 21:6-9 the following forms are used: "Then the Lord sent fiery serpents", הנחשים השרפים. Strikingly, LXX Num 21:6 describes the serpents as deadly rather than fiery, ὄφεις τοὺς θανατοῦντας. It is obvious that the presence of these "magical" associations in the Hebrew bible is the result of cross-fertilization from a variety of cultural contacts during the many centuries that it took Israel to become a nation (García Martínez 2003b:4, 14).

Paranuk (1980:63) notes that the five paragraphs of Ez 1:4 - 28 are tied together with כעין at verses 4, 7, 16, 22, 27. It is possible that this word is used as a kind of textual marker in this section, especially as it forms a chiastic inclusio with חשמל at v. 27 and החשמל here, with כעין תרשיש (beryl/ chrysolite) describing the wheels in the middle of this section at 1:16. It is possible that the term כמראה, "like the appearance of" and דמות, "a form something like"[15] are used in the same way in the MT, but of these terms, (including כעין) only דמות is consistently translated in the OG in Chapters 1 and 10.[16]

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[14] VanGemeren (1974:307) notes that Radak is uncertain as to the interpretation of "and they sparkled like burnished bronze" in Ezekiel 1:7. Radak says that "It may refer to "a sparkle" for they (the wheels) sparkle at a great distance, so that it is impossible to perceive them with the senses. Or these words relate to the creatures. If this is the case he (Ezekiel) saw an angel".

[15] Greenberg (1983:37) suggests "shape" rather than "form". Bunta (2006:63) notes that in Ezekiel Adam's special relationship with God is defined in Gen 1:26 by צלם (image) and דמות (likeness).

[16] See Appendix 3, a chart displaying the translation equivalents of these three words in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and Dan 10:6.

This means that a possible surreptitious highlighting of a major concern of the author crafted into the construction of the text, may have been missed or disregarded or deliberately disguised by the OG translator. Because all three may be fulfilling some sort of structuring role in the text, the English translations according to Holladay (1988) as stated above will be used consistently in this study. Where necessary, KB is consulted as well.

Ez 1: 5 and 6

The author describes the appearance of a form/shape something like (דמות) four "living creatures/beings", as shaped something like a man (אדם). The use of אדם here is regarded in scholarly discussion as highly significant, and is considered in 3.3. Verses 5-6 have feminine suffixes relating to the living creatures, which seem to presuppose a humanoid form for the grammatically feminine entities, whereas in vv. 9-12 and 23-25 there appears a series of masculine suffixes, vacillating with feminine suffixes. This phenomenon continues into the description of the wheels as well in verses 16 and 18. Both Allen and Lust (1999:12) note that this phenomenon is usually taken as evidence of redaction (cf. the discussion of Freedy's work in 3.1.1). Allen (1994:5) suggests that it is to indicate that חיות does not mean animals. Verse 6 reads literally "four faces[17] for one and four wings for one of them". OG has a minus at "of them".[18] This description is generally understood to mean that each of the four living creatures has four faces and four wings, but this understanding becomes confused in Ezekiel 10 and in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The significance of winged creatures is described in the excursus below.

EXCURSUS ON WINGED CREATURES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Descriptions of the lesser divinities in the ancient Near East as winged creatures are well known (Mullen 1980:185). By c. 925 - 720/700 BCE typical Phoenician-Israelite winged hybrid creatures influenced by Egyptian themes, such as falcons, scarabs, *uraei*, griffins, sphinxes and cherubs (Fig.1) are virtually

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[17] The four faces introduced here after the description of the living creatures as "something like a man" are described in v. 10, where the first face is described as that of a man (אדם). Assman (1997:74) points out that these living creatures with their four faces are composite in the same way as Egyptian gods and hieroglyphs are, so must have functioned in the same way - a secret code for a sacred truth.

[18] This minus conforms to McLay's observation in his study on the OG and Th versions of Daniel (1996:40), that sometimes OG adds a personal pronoun against MT, but at other times omits it as unnecessary to the Greek, as in this instance.

omnipresent on seals in Palestine (See Figs. 1 and 3). Their celestial-solar character is often emphasised by the inclusion of additional solar disks (Fig. 6). The wings stress the celestial aspect and convey the idea of protection. "In combination with the sun god they convey the idea of a mysterious connection between unapproachable distance and effective protection" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:251, 252).

Charlesworth (1991:103, n.4) sees iconography of the seals as revealing the origin of the apocalyptists' angelological symbolism. He points out that the portrayal of men in animal forms is reminiscent of many passages in the Jewish apocalypses, for instance the first vision of Daniel 7:2-8. He suggests that depictions of winged creatures such as the Assyrian seal of Shallum are the background to the origin and evolution of many of the "bizarre" images in Jewish apocalyptic thought of gods, goddesses, angels and demons. The Assyrian Seal of Shallum, dating from the beginning of the 7th C BCE, depicts a worshipper next to whom is a winged solar disk with the head of a deity rising from its centre and from each of the wings. The wings are supported by "bull-men" (similar to Fig 2). Keel (1977:259-260) has demonstrated the coherence of Ez 1:5-12, 22-25, and 26-28a by a "basic conception of humanoid skybearers whose heads support a firmament platform upon which the divine throne rests". This conception appears to be a fusion of at least two separate, well-attested traditions of religious iconography. The first consists of two lions, bulls or cherubs (two-winged animals with human heads) supporting a platform above which was a throne on which the deity sat. The second is of two- or four-winged genii who support the wings of the sun, or the sky, with their upper pair of wings and/or hands.[19]

Figure 3 depicts a four-winged Egyptian male carved on a hollow bone handle, possibly that of a mirror or a sceptre, found at Hazor (Yadin 1955:16). The figure appears to be wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and is dated to about the ninth century BCE. The four wings indicate that the god is a celestial figure, and the double pairs of wings in Iron Age II B (925-720) heighten the celestial aspect by emphasising the omnipresence of the god. Keel and Uehlinger (1998:195, also see Keel 1977:200-204), suggest this figure may be one of the mediating entities that served the "Lord of Heaven".[20] This figure encircles the bone-handle by holding a palm tree (i.e. tree of life) with each hand. Because of the especially interesting position and turn of the hands and arms implying a horizontal rotational movement (around the handle), this figure may represent a type of intermediary comparable in some respects to an *Iynge* (see chapter 6, part 3, the *Chaldean Oracles*). Furthermore, the celestial aspect of four wings and its apparent rotational movement points to a possible connection to Ezekiel 1:14, Ezekiel 10, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Rotational movement is a frequently described characteristic of a certain type of angel both in the Jewish tradition (Ez 1:14), and in the *Chaldean Oracles* (*Iynges*), and is discussed again in chapters 6 and 8.

Ez 1:7

This grammatically difficult section starts by stating that the legs of the living beings were straight. By implication, the deduction can be made that they were standing, which fits with the tradition of the attendants standing around the throne of God in the Divine

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[19] In discussing the origin of the Lapis Lazuli throne above the sapphire platform described in Ez 1:26a and 10:1, Keel (1977:256, 7) quotes from Flavius Philostratus (c. 200 CE), *Life of Apollonius* of Tyana I 25, where certain travellers to Babylon describe a cupola-shaped ceiling intended to represent the heavens, from which are suspended four golden *Iynges*, "to safeguard the king (who sits in judgement here) against Nemesis and excessive pride". He quotes the definition of *Iynges* by Liddel and Scott as "In pl. name of certain 'Chaldaic' divinities". Keel (1977:248) quotes from Luckenbill (1926-27) where the same structure is described, but here the *Iynges* are called Genies. The *Iynges* are also mentioned by Xenocrates in a Greek cultural context. The possible connection of *Iynges* to Ezekiel 1 and 10 is discussed again in chapter 6 and in the final chapter 8.

[20] Keel and Uehlinger (1998:197) suggest that a youthful figure of a god who has four wings such as this one, is inter-changeable with the four-winged scarab beetle as a way to portray the sun god).

Assembly, and also with the association of the living beings with the *seraphim* which were standing in Isa 6:2. This verse is set out below according to the method of McLay (1996) for purposes of a) comparison of MT with OG and b) comparison with Dan 10:6, which is clearly based upon Ez 1:7. The numbers on the left are according to the listing of the words in their original sequence in the pericope.

EZEKIEL 1:7

OG	MT
1.01 καὶ τὰ σκέλη αὐτῶν ὀρθά,	ורגליהם רגל ישרה
1.02 καὶ πτερωτοὶ	וכף
1.03 οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν,	רגליהם
1.04 -	ככף
1.05 -	רגל
1.06 -	עגל
1.07 καὶ σπινθῆρες[21]	ונצצים
1.08 ὡς	כעין
1.09 ἐξαστράπτων[22]	-
1.10 χαλκός	נחשת
1.11 καὶ ἐλαφραὶ[23]	קלל:
1.12 αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν	-

DAN 10:6

OG	Θ	MT
2.01 καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ	Θ the same from 2.01 to 2.07	ופניו
2.02 ὡσεὶ ὅρασις		כמראה
2.03 ἀστραπῆς,[24]		ברק
2.04 καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ		ועיניו
2.05 ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες		כלפידי
2.06 πυρός,		אש
2.07 καὶ οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ		וזרעתיו
2.08 καὶ οἱ πόδες	καὶ τὰ σκέλη	ומרגלתיו
2.09 ὡσεὶ	ὡς ὅρασις	כעין

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[21] LEH (2003:563) σπινθήρ, -ῆρος spark Ez 1:7.

[22] LEH (2003:212) ἐξαστράπτω, to flash as with lightning. Neol. Ez 1:4, 7, LXX Dan 10:6.

[23] LEH (2003:192) ἐλαφρός, -ά, -όν light in weight Ez 1:7; light in moving, nimble Jb 24:18. Liddel and Scott have "light in moving, nimble, swift, active" for ἐλαφρός. MT Ez 1:7 קלל burnished, shiny.

[24] LEH (2003:90) Lightning, gleaming, flashing.

| 2.10 χαλκὸς | χαλκοῦ | נחשת |
| 2.11 ἐξαστράπτων,[25] | στίλβοντος, | קלל[26] |

The following phrase in MT 7a וכף רגליהם ככף רגל עגל, "and the soles of their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot" is absent in the OG (1.04-1.06). The reason for this has been discussed by Halperin (1982:362), who recognises the possibility that the divergence may be due to textual corruption in the LXX *Vorlage*, but given the "profoundly sinister connotations of the 'calf' for ancient Jewish expositors",[27] he questions whether this may not have been due to redaction. The impression of awkwardness here is reinforced by the translation of 7bβ. In MT verse 7bβ the feet of the living beings are described as ונצצים כעין נחשת קלל:. This phrase is translated in the OG as καὶ σπινθῆρες ὡς ἐξαστράπτων χαλκός, καὶ ἐλαφραί, "and sparkled like bronze flashing as with lightning, and light in weight" (or "light in moving, nimble/swift"). Hatch and Redpath align קלל with both ἐξαστράπτων (1999:490) and with ἐλαφραί (1999:449), whereas neither of these words on their own are an equivalent or a normal translation for קלל. Thus the OG appears to do what may be a double translation here,[28] and then adds αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν, "their wings", thus making the foregoing a description of their wings rather than their feet. Thus the word קלל which normally means "polished" is doubly rendered in Ez 1:7 OG as ἐξαστράπτων καὶ

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[25] LEH (2003:219) to flash as with lightning; neol. Ez 1:4,7 Dan LXX 10:6.

[26] See the following n.

[27] Halperin (1988:183) sees a connection between the "calf's foot" (Ez 1:7) and "ox's face" (Ez 1:10) and the Golden Calf of the wilderness (Exodus 32). He asks (1988:47) why the ox's face of 1:10 is replaced with the "cherub's face", and claims that at Ez 1:7 the deletion of the word "calf" and reading of *kap* as if it were *kanap*, was deliberate, because the calf was the archetype of the idolatry of Ex 32, and the suggestion of Ez 1:7, 10 that "a token of it was perpetually in the divine presence, verged on the intolerable". Halperin suggests (1982:361,362) that there were features of the Hebrew text that the translators preferred to conceal. Levey (1987:21) also suggests that at Ez 1:7 where the Targum reads "*agul*" (round) instead of MT's "*egel*", it is "perhaps as an interpretation difference designed to eliminate the calf as a symbol of Israel's dereliction from Yahweh at Sinai, in the incident of the golden calf".

[28] Halperin (1982:363) confirms this observation. VanGemeren (1997:928) notes: "… meaning probably from a root meaning slight or swift. … G renders ἐξαστράπτον flashing; (cf. Luke 9:29), but then adds a second translation as an attempt to give a more strictly etymological equivalent to say their wings were light, ie. swift. The expression ἐξαστράπτον is taken over in Dan 10:6 where it applies to the arms and legs of the man in the vision." Talshir (1986:22, 29) points out that where retroversion to the Hebrew text does not work, the first task is to decide whether the disparity originated in the Greek or whether it is a

ἐλαφραί, "flashing as with lightning" and "light in weight" or "light in moving, nimble", the latter as if pertaining to the plus αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν. An alternative view could be to regard the whole phrase καὶ ἐλαφραὶ αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν as a plus, but this is still a strange addition, especially in view of καὶ πτερωτοί as a translation for וכף at 1.02, and the minus in the OG at 1.04-1.06.

Whatever the reason, the translation of קלל with ἐξαστράπτων and ἐλαφραί as qualifying נחשת signals some sort of difficulty for the translator. The difficulty may be related to the important word נחשת in its connection to *hashmal*.[29] קלל is also translated in OG Dan 10:6 with ἐξαστράπτων, whereas the Theodotion version has the normal translation for "polished": στίλβοντος ("polished, shining"), and it is aligned as such in Hatch and Redpath (1999:1291). In the same verse ἀστραπῆς is used to render ברק in both OG and Theodotion, indicating a clear and normal association of ἀστραπῆς with lightning. In the beginning of the description of the vision in Ez 1:4, in the LXX the word ἐξαστράπτον is used to translate מתלקחת (Holladay:"flashing here and there"). This indicates an association of lightning (as is usual in a theophany) in the mind of the LXX translator, and this is confirmed at Dan 10:6 where ἀστραπῆς is used to render ברק.

To summarise: 1) By its use of ἐξαστράπτων to translate קלל where it is in association with the feet of the living beings in Ez 1:7, OG connects the feet/legs to the imagery of lightning. 2) In Dan 10:6 OG, again in the association of legs or feet, קלל is translated with ἐξαστράπτων, i.e. with the concept of (flashing) lightning, whereas Theodotion uses the reasonable and neutral translation equivalent στίλβοντος. 3) The questions are, why did the OG translator use a lightning association to translate קלל as a description of the calf's foot, and in addition add καὶ ἐλαθραί, making it a double

result of difference in the *Vorlage*. If a divergent *Vorlage* reading can be ruled out, then a redactor must be considered to be responsible, and this then conforms to her definition of a "double translation".

translation, and secondly, why does the OG associate קלל with lightning? 4) The translation by both OG and Theodotion of ברק as ἀστραπῆς[30] as a normal, reasonable translation equivalent highlights the peculiarity of the OG translation of קלל at Dan 10:6 and Ez 1.7.[31] To Halperin (1988a:57) the translation of the last word of Ez 1:7 קלל with ἐξαστράπτων "seems baseless", as opposed to the OG translation at Daniel 10:6, where he sees it as appropriate, therefore he suggests that the LXX translator of OG Ez 1:7 drew on the LXX of Daniel. However, I suspect that the peculiarity of this translation may have resulted because of the need to disguise the original angelic activity associated with lightning as indicated in Ez 1:13, 14, which actually required or at least led to the awkward double translation of OG at Ez 1:7. Thus at verse 7 the Göttingen reconstruction of the OG by Ziegler may be seen to add the idea of "flashing forth like lightning/dazzling" and of "swiftness". Codex *Alexandrinus* adds ὁ before ἐξαστράπτων, thus "the flashing forth like lightning/dazzling". Why at MT Ez 1:7 is the description of the feet or legs preceded by "and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot, and they sparkled"? My impression is that by choosing ἐξαστράπτων the OG translator wanted to emphasise the "lightning" aspect of the meaning of קלל in that particular context, and he made it a double translation by adding ἐλαθραί, which introduces an ambiguous aspect to the angelic content of verses 13 and 14. Because of the need to disguise the angelic activity[32] he then added αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν so that it would appear to apply to the wings rather than to the ἐξαστράπτων of the feet which is associated with the negative associations of the golden calf episode at Sinai (Halperin 1982:353).

The idea of swiftness is presumed by Halperin (1982:363) to be because of "rabbinic allusions to the fantastic speed with which the living creatures carry out the missions of their Lord" (Gen. *Rab* 50:1 and Tg. Ez 1:14). This "swiftness" is an important concept in

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[29] The possible linguistic connections and angelic associations are discussed in the Excursus on *hashmal*.
[30] "lightning, gleaming, flashing" (LEH).
[31] Halperin (1982:363) suggests that the LXX translation of Ez 1:7 seems to have been influenced by the LXX translation of Dan 10:6.
[32] Because of the rabbinic reticence about the angelic content of this passage.

this context in relation to angelology. It is relevant to verse 14 and is a quality associated with the *Iynges* which are described in the *Chaldean Oracles*. This aspect will be considered again at verse 14. At this stage, there is clear evidence of angelic activity intimately associated with the throne of God. In addition, the awkwardness of the OG translation alerts one to the "profoundly sinister"[33] connotations of the "calf" for the Jewish expositors of that time. This intimate association of evil with the throne of God is to some extent also apparent in passages like Job 2:1 to 7 and 1 Kings 22:19 to 23.

Ez 1:8b and 9

In the following verses the importance of the wings becomes apparent, but from the description, especially the emphasis on not turning, it is difficult to imagine the manner of locomotion. Freedy (1970:133) designates the last three words of verse 8,

‏וּפְנֵיהֶם וְכַנְפֵיהֶם לְאַרְבַּעְתָּם:‎, as an affiliate cue gloss because they are improperly masculine in gender and he can only construe them as separate catchwords on the surrounding text in which they have become embedded. However, a chiastic *inclusio* is formed from the first ‏כַּנְפֵיהֶם‎ in verse 8 to the same word in verse 9, with ‏כַּנְפֵיהֶם‎ also used in the central position. This *inclusio* serves to emphasise the importance of the wings (cf. verse 12). OG leaves the middle word "their wings" untranslated, and then has a minus at the first four words of verse 9. In effect, this means that the allusion and description of "their fourfold wings were joined, each to her sister" is absent in the OG, and raises the possibility that the *inclusio* was constructed later.

Verse 9 continues with the statement that they did not turn when they went. The detail that they do not turn in their going is repeatedly stressed in verses 12 and 17. This stress is also evident in Ez 10:11 and 22, and in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. There are various possibilities for this emphasis, discussed under verse 14.

Ez 1:10:

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[33] Halperin (1982:362), and see also n.27.

The faces in Ezekiel 1:10 are described as those of a man, a lion, an ox (שׁור), and an eagle. In Chapter 10, but not in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, the ox's face is replaced with a cherub's face. Halperin (1982:362) has suggested that this is an attempt to eliminate the connotation of evil or sin in the matter of the golden calf, from the throne of God. This question is discussed after the two texts from Qumran are dealt with.

Ezekiel 1:11 and 1:12

At verse 11a ופניהם appears to be an obvious cue gloss in MT in that it reflects the prevailing custom of reverse gender, and is absent in OG. The description of the wings which follows is reminiscent of the description of the wings of the seraphim in Isa 6. This unit of the four living beings is again described as a square form in that it is made of four beings, joined at the wings.[34] As at v. 9, in v. 12 the description of the joined wings is followed by the assertion that the living beings do not turn as they move, but go straight forward.

Ez 1:13

ודמות החיות מראיהם כגחלי־אש בערות כמראה הלפדים היא מתהלכת בין
חחיות ונגה לאש ומן־האש יוצא ברק[35]:

Göttingen: καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ζῴων ὅρασις ὡς ἀνθράκων πυρὸς καιομένων, ὡς ὄψις λαμπάδων συστρεφομένων, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ζῴων καὶ φέγγος τοῦ πυρός, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἐξεπορεύετο ἀστραπή.

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[34] Because of the hints that the wings are signifying important undercurrents of meaning, I have resorted to the comments of the early medieval rabbis, keeping in mind that their exegesis of the motifs is from a much later time period. Van Gemeren (1974:301) notes that Radak (Rabbi David Kimhi c.1160-1235) followed Maimonides' insights into the meaning of the wings. The homonymous form of the Hebrew *kanaf* from the Arabic *kanaftu* means 'I concealed'. According to Maimonides (*The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. S Pinis, 1963. Chicago: University of Chicago) this means "that the cause of his existence, I mean that of the angel, is most hidden and concealed, that cause being indicated by the expression 'his face'". This understanding incorporates Freedy's cue gloss at the beginning of v. 11 in a meaningful way - ופניהם is indeed a cue, but perhaps not a gloss, perhaps originally intended, even though absent in the OG.
[35] Van Gemeren (1974:93) states that in biblical Hebrew the word ברק may denote a flash of lightning, or it may have reference to the abstract quality of "brightness" (e.g. at Ez. 21:15; Deut 32:41 and Nah 3:3). Rashi associated "brightness" in Ez. 1:4 with God (VanGemeren 1974:61). The *Pseudo Joseph* commentary (c.1150) states that ברק "is a manner of scattering" (cf. זרק Ez 10:2 - scattering (ashes)).

"In the midst of the living creatures there was something that looked like burning coals of fire, like torches moving to and fro among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning" (NRSV).

This verse describes this unit to be like "burning/glowing coals of fire", appearing like הלפדים, λαμπάδων (OG), "flashing torches/ lightnings".[36] The word "fire", אשׁ, seems to be extraordinarily significant here because it is used three times in this verse, and from the fire lightning goes out, ברק (translated as ἀστραπή in the OG). Zimmerli (1979:101) states that this verse simply repeats the statements of 1:4 in a more concrete form, but Greenberg (1983:46) admits that MT is difficult here: "The topic of the shape (דמות)[37] of the creatures is broached once again, only to be immediately altered into their 'appearance', מראיהם which is likened to 'coals of fire'." The repetition of this pattern in Ez 8:2 where דמות is also followed by כמראה, may be signalling that there is more to the fire than meets the eye because OG has ἀνδρός instead of fire (אשׁ). This is discussed again in 3.1.4.

Ez 1:14
According to Lust (1999:16) verse 14 is missing in pre-hexaplaric LXX and therefore not originally in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, and only added as a clarification to verse 13, but obscured in turn by the corruption of ברק "lightning" into בזק. It is attested in O, 86' and the Lucianic mss including Z v.

והחיות רצוא ושוב כמראה הבזק:

Codex *Alexandrinus*: και τα ζωα ετρεχον και ανεκαμπτον ως ειδος του βεζεκ.

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[36] This word, also with the determinative ה is used in Ex 20:18 for lightning.

[37] The possible functioning of דמות as a textual marker may be the reason for its presence in this position, and therefore its relation to the other occurences in the chapter must be considered, especially its clustering of three appearances in v. 26, enclosed by כמראה on either side, where the appearance of the throne is described in a chiastic way as a stone of sapphire with a form like the appearance of a אדם upon it.

Literally translated: " And the living creatures (fem.) run and return like the appearance of the *bezek*". NRSV: "And the living creatures darted to and fro, like a flash of lightning".

In most of these mss the last word is transliterated βεζεκ. It is also present in Codex *Alexandrinus* where the last letter of the last word is definitely a **K**,[38] but the first uncial letter of the last word is not clearly distinguishable, but looks far more like a **Π** than a **B**, thus it would read "pezek". However Rahlfs reports this word as "Bezek" in Codex Alexandrinus. Elliger (1990:897) notes that according to Sperber (1959-62) the word should be ברק. Lust (1999:17) notes that 4Q405 20.21-22.9 seems to be heavily inspired by Ez 1:14, interpreting the flashing beings as holy angels.[39] This seems to me to confirm that verse 14 was present in the proto-masoretic text by at least 60 CE, and also implies that בזק could well be the correct, originally intended meaning.[40] Greenberg (1983:46) ascribes the meaning "sparks" to בזק on the basis of context and the later verb בזק "to scatter".[41]

Lust (1999:16,17) who regards the OG verse 14 as a gloss and verse 13 as original, understands verse 14 as an elaboration of the description of the torch-like fiery apparition between the creatures. However, he mentions a "defence" of the long reading according to Jerome, who states that the translator deliberately suppressed the verse because of the

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[38] The **K** is followed by an apostrophe in the margin (a short raised oblique stroke).

[39] So also Newsom (1985:315). See discussion in part 2A. *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*.

[40] By taking recourse to later rabbinical reception of this verse, fresh light is cast on the possibilities of interpretation and the text-critical implications. VanGemeren (1974:182) quotes Rabbi Menaham Bar Simeon of Posquieres (c. 1175) as saying that Rabbi Jonah the Sephardi said that בזק in Ez. 1:14 is the name of one of the kinds of lightning. He also quotes the Pseudo-Joseph commentary on Ezekiel (c.1150) to the effect that the word בזק has reference to the nature of the flames. For an explanation of "darted to and fro" R. Eliezer (B.Hag. 13b VanGemeren 1974:125) suggests "They were running to the outside and returning inside - they themselves are running and returning". VanGemeren (1974:95) reports that Pseudo-Joseph also understands that *bazak* refers to the nature of the flames, namely, they move from place to place. Because the word is marked by the verb רצוא "to scatter" the meaning is that the nature of the flames means that they move from place to place (VanGemeren 1974:95).

[41] Levey (1987:21) translates Ez 1:14 of the Targum of Ezekiel (dated between the 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE) according to Ribera (1996:121) as "And the creatures, *when they are sent to do the will of their Master who makes His Shekinah dwell on high above them, are like the eye seeing a bird on the wing,* they turn and *circle the world; and the creatures return together, quickly,* like a flash of lightning." Levey notes that the phrase is difficult, literally "the creatures vanish like a bird". He has based his translation "on a

tensions with verses 9, 12 and 17, where it is stated that the living beings did not turn as they moved. Once again the emphasis on this denial of turning conveys that turning or not turning is a very important concept. This description is reminiscent of the movement of the messengers (*Iynges*) in the *Chaldean Oracles*, described by Proclus (410 to 485 CE: *Elements of Theology*) in his paraphrase of Frg. 87 of the *Chaldean Oracles,* as follows: "these ineffable causes [the Iynges] are called 'swift' by the oracles, and hastening away from the Father hasten again back towards him." The association with the *Iynges* could have been a problem to the rabbis because of the association with "magic" in the Chaldean context.[42]

The clear reflection of Ez 1:14 in 4Q405 20.20-22.9 and the presence of Ez 10:14 in 4Q Ezekiel b proves that these verses belong to very early texts, and if they really are glosses, they are early enough to be considered for this dissertation. In later chapters their significance is incorporated into the discussion. Verse 14 of Ezekiel 10 which has also been excluded from the OG on a gloss basis, also conveys important angelological information which is vital for the understanding of *merkabah* mysticism. My approach is to be cautious about relegating both verses 14 in Ezekiel 1 and 10 to the "gloss" category, and prefer to take these verses seriously as meaningful angelological content of relatively early origin. That the living beings in chapter 1 function as messengers akin to the Neoplatonic *Iynges* seems a real possibility. In Ezekiel 10 the living beings become *cherubim*, and the wheels form - together with the *cherubim* - a collection of four major types of angels. As this dissertation proceeds, angelological motifs from this section listed in chart C which may be significant will be compared to the same motifs in the contexts of subsequent texts.

3.1.2.2 THE FOUR *OPHANIM* IN EZEKIEL 1

Verses 1:15 to 22 continue by describing the *ophanim*, האופנים, which appear to be four huge wheels each standing beside each of the four living beings, and each constructed as

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plausible reading that does no violence to the text". The association with turning and a bird may indicate a midrashic hint of a connection with the *Iynges*, discussed in chapter 6.

[42] The *Iynges* are discussed in chapter 6 part 3, Appendix 4, and in chapter 8.

if it were a "wheel within a wheel".[43] The wheels are the colour of chrysolite (NRSV)/beryl (KJV).[44] Verse 17 echoes verse 12 in stating that not only the living beings, but also the wheels do not turn in their going. The amount of emphasis in all the relevant texts on their not turning reinforces the impression that this is an important issue in relation to the *ophanim* as well in relation to the "living beings".

In verse 18 the masculine and feminine forms used together probably express the idea of universality or complementarity (Waldman 1984:618) but according to Elliger (1990:897) MT is corrupt at 18a.

וגביהן וגבה להם ויראה להם וגבתם מלאת עינים סביב לארבעתן:

> "The four wheels had rims and they had spokes and their rims were full of eyes round about" (NRSV).

The Hebrew is uncertain where NRSV and Waldman have "rims" for גביהן /גבה/גבתם. Mishnaic Hebrew would translate גבה as "backs", and this is what Targum Ezekiel has: " ... their backs being full of eyes round about all four of them" (Levey 1987:22). OG also has "backs" (νῶτοι). *Pseudo-Ezekiel* 9b-10 has מגבי which Dimant translates as "backs", according to Mishnaic Hebrew. The meaning of Ez 1:18 remains unsolved at this stage, but is discussed again below.

Verse 19 indicates that if the unit of four living beings should rise above the earth, presumably using their unit of sixteen wings, the wheels rise with them because "a spirit

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[43] This description has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Plato, who lived from 429 to 347 BCE, approximately 200 years after Ezekiel's vision, gives an interesting description of the construction of 'a wheel within a wheel' in his discussion of the World Soul in *Timaeus* 34A ff. (See Fig. 8, Bury 1966:62-71). This could be compatible with the Ezekelian description of the movement of the unit of four living beings as moving forward "without turning". See 3.1.2.3 and n. 45 on Ez 10:2 below.

[44] The *ophanim* in Ez 1:16a and in 10:9b are described as being like the colour of תרשיש. The colour associated with *tarshish* cannot be established by reference to the terms used in translation. Holladay (1988:395) suggests chrysolite, but this occurs in many different colours. The OG translates תרשיש as θαρσις at Ez 1:16a, but at 10:9b it uses ἄνθρακος, which, if appearing as the colour of glowing coals, would be a reasonable deduction in the context. In every instance of *tarshish* mentioned above, the KJV uses beryl, which could be red or orange, and this reinforces the possibility of glowing coals. The NRSV also uses beryl at Dan 10:6, but at Ez 1:16a and 10:9b it uses chrysolite.

of the living being (s.) (was) in the wheel (m.s.)". From verse 20 onwards in the MT and the LXX the living being is singular, except in verse 22 in the LXX: "above the heads of the living beings".

For the sake of continuity of discussion the rest of Ezekiel 1 (which deals directly with the throne of God above the platform of "terrrible ice") is discussed after the discussion on the descriptions of the *cherubim* and *ophanim* in chapter 10.

3.1.2.3 THE FOUR *OPHANIM/GALGAL* IN EZEKIEL 10

The description of the *ophanim* changes in chapter 10. Suddenly, לגלגל, the Aramaic word for wheel is used, which NRSV translates as "whirling wheel":[45]

> ויאמר אל־האיש לבש הבדים ויאמר בא אל־בינות לגלגל אל־תחת לכרוב
> מלא חפניך גחלי־אש מבינות לכרבים וזרק על־העיר ויבא לעיני:

> And he said to the man clothed in linen, "Go in among the whirling wheels underneath the cherubim; Fill your hands with burning coals from between the cherubim, and scatter them over the city" (NRSV).

Mettinger (1982:105) draws attention to the phrase קול רעמך בגלגל, "the sound of the thunder was in the *galgal*" in Ps 77:18a (LXX Ps. 76:19 uses the word τροχῷ instead of transliterating בגלגל). Mettinger understands *galgal* as *pars pro toto* for the chariot, which he associates with the theophanic tradition, in that the throne is represented as a chariot. However, the text as it stands can also be understood to convey the idea that the *galgal* in itself had some tremendous power. NRSV makes sense of this phrase with the following translation: "The crash of thy thunder was in the whirlwind", but the word "whirlwind" is not justified. Kraus (1989: 113) translates this verse from the MT as literally: "The thunder of your roaring through the wheel". This also makes a connection with the whirling of the *Iynges* in the *Chaldean Oracles* which originated in

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[45] VanGemeren (1974:245) notes that in Ez 10:2, the term "whirling wheels" with a *lamed* is to be understood generically, i.e. plural, "as if he wrote 'the whirling wheels'". Lust (1978:67) notes that the Targumim often render a collective by a plural form.

the practice of obtaining oracles from the sound produced when long necked birds were whirled around at high speed (see chapter 6, section 3 on the *Chaldean Oracles*).

Clarity about the significance of the whirling wheels can only be gained if the symbolism of the *galgal* is understood. On a macro-cosmological level Uehlinger and Trufaut (2001:154, 155) find Babylonian symbolism in the wheel as a cosmic halo or divine astral symbol as found in Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals of the 8th - 7th century. They suggest that the whole system of moving wheels may actually be interpreted as a kind of stellar system related to the celestial bodies, and that this vision is "a reflection on the movement of astral spheres, which move along individual, circular paths, but at the same time remain connected to one another by some invisible commanding principle whose technical rules cannot easily be put into words".   On the microcosmic level, Halperin's understanding described below seems to fit the context well.

In agreement with Levey (by implication; 1987: 21, 22), Rowland (1982:88), Morray-Jones (1998:412) and Davila (2003:152), Halperin's understanding of the description in Ezekiel 10:11-12 is that the author "turns these wheels from machines into angels, almost literally fleshing them out".[47] In verse 11 they are equipped with heads;[48] in verse 12, with flesh, arms and wings." The *ophanim* "no longer appear as the mechanical objects we might have imagined, but as active supernatural beings who correspond to the living beings" (Halperin 1988:45). "The writer of Ez 10:12 conceives of the *ophanim* as a type of angel, and is concerned to stress the point, his attributing flesh and limbs to them becomes wholly natural" (Halperin 1988:45), as it is too for the *cherubim* of 10:14 when the context is understood in this way. Halperin (1976:139) points out that this is in line with the tendency in Jewish angelology to transfer the properties of one type of angel onto another: "The literal wheels recede into the background, and are replaced by an angelic class bearing the proper name '*Ophanim*'."

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[47] Greenberg (1983:182, 183) does not express his own view on the angelic interpretation of the *ophanim* or *galgali,* except that he interprets the *ophanim* and *galgali* as one and the same, i.e. wheels.

[48] MT 11b reads: כי המקום אשר־יפנה הראש אחריו ילכו לא יסבו בלכתם:
"but to the place whither the head looked they followed it; they turned not as they went" (KJV). NRSV has "the front wheel" (i.e. "leader" for הראש). Cf. 3.2.2.2 for Newsom's translation at 4Q403 Frg. 1i line 34b of "chiefs" for the word ראשי.

Ez. 10:13 makes a dramatic statement about the *galgal*:

<div dir="rtl">

לאופנים להם קורא הגלגל באזני:
</div>

ἐπεκλήθη Γελγελ ἀκούοντός μου, "They were called in my hearing the whirling wheels". The description of the wheels initially is basically similar to that in chapter 1, but here a dramatic difference takes place; Ezekiel states that in his hearing they were called the whirling wheels הגלגל. The OG transliteration of this Aramaic word for wheel as Γελγελ, and the phrase "in my hearing" reinforces the importance of this term, as though it is almost unbelievable.[49] The definite article prefixed to *galgal* indicates a particle of exclamation, i.e. "O whirling wheel". Thus here in chapter 10, in spite of all the protest against turning, the wheels are described as whirling, i.e. "turning" after all.[50]

The Coptic word for wheel is **ⲕⲟⲗⲕⲁ**. Westendorf (1977:61, 442) connects it to the semitic root *glgl*, and to the Egyptian word for Divine council, *ḏꜣḏꜣ*. He lists the Coptic word for head, leader, as **ϫⲱϫ**, but relates this to the demotic word *ḏꜣḏꜣ* with the root *glgl*, which is identical to the Egyptian word for Divine Council *ḏꜣḏꜣ* (see 2.2.1 n. 32). This raises the interesting possibility that the word *galgal* at Ezekiel 10:2, 6, 13, could possibly be translated as "head" or "leader" rather than "wheel". These passages would thus read: "Go in between the heads (לגלגל)..." (verse 2); " ...take fire from between the heads (לגלגל). He went in and stood beside a wheel (האופן)" (verse 6); " ... The wheels (לאופנם) they were called O heads (לגלגל) in my hearing" (verse 13). This would explain the reason why two different words, לגלגל and ואפנים, are used in the same chapter, and this argument is strengthened by the sudden appearance in verse 11 for the first time of the term הראש, head. OG has ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ μία "the first head" which can be construed as the leader. The Coptic word for head/leader, **ϫⲱϫ**, with its root *glgl*

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[49] Interestingly, the phrase "in my hearing" is absent in the Codex *Alexandrinus*.
[50] The interpretation of R. Menahem bar Simeon of Posqueres (c.1175) is as follows: "The angels were calling them ("whirling wheels") because they turned" (VanGemeren 1974:189). Thus these rabbis understood this phrase to mean not that they were *named* "whirling wheels", but that the attention of the whirling wheels was summoned so that they could be commanded.

provides the lexical connection between the *galgal* and the Divine Council. This serves to confirm the angelological associations of both these words.

As in Ezekiel 1, verse 14 of chapter 10 is regarded as a gloss by most scholars and is absent in the OG reconstruction of Ezekiel 10 by Ziegler. However, this verse is present in 4Q Ezekiel b and its significance needs to be reassessed, as it fits into this context, sharing the exegetical character of Ezekiel 10:9-12, 16-17. Ezekiel 10:14 represents a further stage in the development of its *ophanim* angelology. In this verse the face of the cherub is now placed first in the list of faces, whereas in chapter 1 the face of a man was placed first. This has the effect of "labelling" the unit of four as *cherubim*, i.e. confirming the transposition from ox to cherub. It is not possible to explain the motivation for the change satisfactorily with present information, but Levey (1987:21, 39 n.8) surmises that the reason for the substitution of the cherub's face for the ox is "... since the chariot was presumed to have intercessory power, and should therefore come to the defense of Israel, God changed the ox, which is associated with the sin of the golden calf, and hence a symbol of accusation against Israel, to a cherub, but if the cherub looks like a man, there would be two faces of a man in the chariot, which would be incongruous." He quotes Resh Lakish: "Ezekiel sought God's mercy for Israel, so that the accuser (the ox, i.e., the golden calf) became the defender (the cherub), since the Merkabah itself intercedes for Israel".

Ez 10:15, 17 and 20:

In Ez 10:15, 17 and 20, the unit of *cherubim* in combination with the wheels is described as a living being in the singular. The singular may be used in order to stress the unity between the living beings and the wheels (Greenberg 1983:48). In Ezekiel 10 the living being is always in the singular, and in verse 20 it is clearly stated that the *cherubim* (the four *cherubim* form the living being, singular) are the living being. In verse 11 it is stated twice that "the four" (ארבעת, presumably a unit of four) does not turn in its going.

3.1.3 CONCLUSION TO THE ANGELOLOGY OF EZ 1:1-21 AND EZEKIEL 10

In chapter 10:20 the reader is expressly told that the living beings are none other than *cherubim*, and the bovine male face is replaced by that of a cherub. It was proposed in the discussion of Ez 1:7 that the awkwardness of the description of the feet of the living beings hints at angelic activity. In addition, in Ezekiel 10 the *ophanim* are "raised above their literal meaning of 'wheels'", and treated as a species of angelic being - in many ways resembling the *cherubim*. This impression is reinforced by the phrase "in my hearing", in combination with the definite article prefixed to *galgal* which seems to imply the addressing of a living being rather than just a mechanical object.[51]

Halperin (1976:136) sees that "the essential burden " of the exegesis of 10:9-17 is angelological, but my observation is that the angelological content is already present in Ezekiel 1, for the following four reasons: 1) the stress on not turning in Ez 1:17; 2) the description in Ez 1:16 of the wheels as looking like תרשיש;[52] 3) a spirit of the living being was in the wheels, i.e. they were animate (Ez 1:20). 4) The angelic content of Ez 1:14 related to the activity of the *galgali* of Ezekiel 10 is clear, and I propose that this verse is not a later gloss.

Eichrodt (1965:117) states that many points in Ezekiel 1 and 10, like the description of the faces of the *cherubim* in Ez 10 and its inconsistency with Ezekiel 1:10, "must remain enigmas", and that it is particularly hard to work out in detail how chapters 1 and 10 have influenced each other. The possibility must be considered that Ezekiel 1 was written first, but the angelological content was disguised, but that in Ezekiel 10, possibly written later, the angelological content was no longer hidden because the subsequent exilic context had led to acceptance of angelic activity, thus allowing it to be openly expressed.

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[51] Halperin (1976:136) points out that this development is presupposed in *1 Enoch* 61:10, 71:7, where we find the angelic triad of *cherubim, seraphim* and *ophanim*. It is also clear in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, where allusions to the *ophanim* suggest that they are conceived of as angels.
[52] This term is used to describe the body of the figure on the throne in Dan 10:6 and is mentioned in Rev 21:20 as the eighth foundation stone of the wall of the new Jerusalem. In the context of Dan 10:6 it is clearly associated with angelic activity.

3.1.4 THE THRONE OF GOD IN EZEKIEL 1:22-28, 10:1 AND 10:1

Ezekiel 1:22 to 25 and 10:1 bring the 10th to 8th centuries BCE mythological iconography of Fig. 2 strikingly to mind. Above their heads the living creatures bear a firmament with the colour of "terrible crystal/ice", and the sound of their wings is like the voice of great waters "as the voice of the Almighty". This sound stops when they let down their wings. In Ez 1:26 Ezekiel describes what he sees above the firmament that is above the heads of the living beings: a form something like a throne, like the appearance of a stone of sapphire. Above the throne he sees a form something like the appearance of a man, אדם. Notably, Ez 1:28 ("this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord") compares the appearance of the brightness surrounding the "likeness of a throne" upon which was "something that seemed like a human form" of 1:26b to the appearance of "the bow in a cloud on a rainy day". This seems to align the brightness (נגה) of the appearance of a man (אדם), to the "glory of Yahweh" (כבוד יהוה). Ezekiel is frequently addressed by God as *ben adam* in the Book of Ezekiel. Of the modern commentators, the most prevalent opinion is that the appelation suggests the mortal unworthiness of the prophet Ezekiel, with an implied transcendence of YHWH. Collins (1993a:304) maintains that the philological meaning is simply "one like a human being". However, Bunta (2006:55-84) presents an enlightening connection between Ezekiel and Gen 1:26, 27 and Gen 2:7, which highlights Adam's potential for deification or some degree of divine status, by virtue of the "insufflation" of God's breath in Gen 2:7, combined with the fact that Adam was made in the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:26). This perspective gains significance when Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26, 27 and Gen 2:7 is considered in chapter 5.

Paranuk (1980:63) has drawn attention to Ezekiel's "literary architecture" in amongst other places, chapter 1, where he recognises the use of כעין (which he translates as "like the gleam of") as a marker at 1:4, 7, 16, 22, 27. As in the structure of the Book of Revelation interwoven *inclusios*, sometimes over several chapters,[53] have been clearly demonstrated (Fiorenza 1977:344-66) so in Ezekiel one example of an overarching ring

composition over several chapters is examined below to try to establish more closely what the original form of Ezekiel 1:27 might have been.

Verse 27 is full of relevant detail, and is set out word for word below. Strikingly, Ezekiel 8:2 is basically an almost identical inverse replica of Ezekiel 1:27. These two verses in Ezekiel may be forming an overarching ring composition. Below, this inversion structure is used as an aid to consider what the originally intended wording of Ezekiel 1:27 may have been. In order to clarify the essence of both 1:27 and 8:2, in a second step the words that do not convey angelological content are printed in italics. In a third step these non-significant words are eliminated altogether, in order to find the essence of the communication.

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[53] "Intercalation or sandwiching" (Fiorenza 1966:24).

	Greek	English	Hebrew
1.1	καὶ εἶδον	And I saw	וארא
1.2	ὡς ὄψιν	like the colour of	כעין
1.3	ἠλέκτρου	hashmal (electron)	חשמל
1.4	-	like the appearance of fire	(1כמראה־אש
1.5	-	from the midst of it	בית־לה
1.6	-	surrounding (round about)	סביב
1.7	ἀπὸ ὁράσεως	from the appearance of	ממראה
1.8	ὀσφύος	his loins	מתניו
1.9	καὶ ἐπάνω,	and to above	(2ולמעלה
1.10	καὶ ἀπὸ ὁράσεως	and from the appearance of	וממראה
1.11	ὀσφύος	his loins	מתניו
1.12	καὶ ἕως κάτω	and to downward	(2ולמטה
1.13	εἶδον	I saw	ראיתי
1.14	ὡς ὅρασιν πυρὸς	like the appearance of fire	כמראה־אש
1.15	καὶ τὸ φέγγος	and the brightness	ונגה
1.16	αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ.	round about him	לו סביב:

Ez 8:2

	Greek	English	Hebrew
2.1	καὶ εἶδον	And I looked	ואראה
2.2	καὶ ἰδοὺ	and behold	והנה
2.3	ὁμοίωμα	a form	דמות
2.4	ἀνδρός,	like the appearance of fire	כמראה־אש
2.5	-	from the appearance	2.6ממראה
	ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ	from his loins	מתניו
2.7	καὶ ἕως κάτω	and to downward	(2ולמטה
2.8	πῦρ,	fire	אש
2.9	καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ	and from his loins	וממתניו
2.10	ὑπεράνω	and to above	(2ולמעלה
2.11	-	like the appearance of	כמראה־
2.12	-	the gleam	זהר
2.13	ὡς ὅρασις	like the colour of	כעין
2.14	ἠλέκτρου.	the electron/hashmal	החשמלה

NOTES

At 1) The indication of this phrase being a gloss at 1.4 by virtue of its absence in the OG is confirmed when the symmetry of the structure formed by the inversion is considered. The role of the other 6 appearances of ממראה in ordering this symmetrical structure, becomes apparent below. Elliger (1990:898) and several authors have suggested that 1.4 - 1.6 is an addition in the MT, as it is not present in the OG.[54] However, the minus in the OG at 2.5 indicates that MT כמראה is a gloss as well. ממראה at 1.7 is also a gloss, even though it has an equivalent in the OG, therefore the OG reconstruction cannot be correct at 1.7. It would be very interesting to know if *Codex Alexandrinus* also had a minus here. The four positions marked 2) at 1.9, 1.12, 2.7, and 2.10 form a perfect inverted symmetry. The "appearance above his loins" is described first, and the "appearance below his loins" is described second. In Ezek. 8:2 the appearance below is described first; the appearance above is described second. This inverse construction completes the symmetry of the juxtaposition of these two verses.

At 1.14 NRSV translates the phrase כמראה־אש as "like the appearance of fire" and OG confirms this reading with πυρὸς. However, in Ez 8:2, at 2.4 the MT pointing of כמראה־אש indicates "fire", but it is translated in OG as ἀνδρός. Elliger (1990:907) notes איש (man) here as a possibility, and in fact the use of the third person masculine, singular, at 1.16 seems to indicate the possibility of "man" rather than "fire" at 1.14, which would be confirmed by its symmetrical complement in the chiastic structure, at 2.4. On the other hand, the translation as "fire" seems more reasonable because אדם is used in verse 26b for "man", so why was אדם not used at 1.14 instead of אש if man was intended? "A form" (at 2.3) seems more appropriate in describing "a man" than a "fire", but דמות is possibly being used here as a textual marker (cf. Paranuk 1980:62, 63). At 2.4, the presence of ἀνδρός seems to confirm that the reading here and at 1.14 was

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[54] Allen (1994:9) for instance regards the above phrase 1.4 - 1.6 as "an intrusion", firstly because it breaks the ABB'A' chiasmus of v 27a-bβ, in which the verbs of seeing and the accompanying similes function as A/A' and the upper and lower parts of the body as B/B', and secondly in 8:2 there is general academic

probably originally intended to be "man" rather than "fire". However, אשׁ at 2.8 appears to break the symmetry, but its equivalent is also present in the OG, and confuses the symmetry and sense of the words marked 2). At 2.11 and 2.12 the OG also has a minus, and the symmetrical reconstruction below confirms that כמראה־זהר disturbs the symmetry here, so it may well be a later addition. Interestingly, זהר is used at 2.12 where one would expect נגה, but it is not present in the OG, therefore is likely to have been added later, especially as it destroys the symmetry. [55]

The possibilities become clearer when the setting out of these two verses is simplified as presented below, so that the symmetry becomes more easily apparent. Upon grouping the phrases (but keeping their original sequence) as presented below, the following pattern appears. The words and phrases in italics are either just functioning as cues, or are not present in the OG, or may be glosses.

1.1	*καὶ εἶδον*	*וארא*
1.2,3	ὡς ὄψιν ἠλέκτρου	<u>כעין חשׁמל</u>
1.4	-	*מראה־אשׁ*
1.5,6	-	*בית־לה סביב ממראה*
1.7-9	ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ὀσφύος καὶ ἐπάνω,	<u>מתניו ולמעלה</u>
1.10-12	καὶ ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ὀσφύος καὶ ἕως κάτω	<u>ולמטה</u>
1.13	εἶδον	*ראיתי*
1.14	ὡς ὅρασιν πυρός,	<u>כמראה־אשׁ</u>
1.15,16	καὶ τὸ φέγγος αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ.	<u>ונגה 1)לו סביב:</u>
2.1,2	*καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδού*	*ואראה והנה*
2.3	ὁμοίωμα	<u>דמות</u>
2.4	ἀνδρός ,	<u>כמראה־אשׁ</u>
2.5-7	ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕως κάτω	*ממראה* מתניו ולמטה
2.8	πῦρ,	*אשׁ*
2.9,10	καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ ὑπεράνω	<u>וממתניו ולמעלה</u>
2.11,12	- -	*כמראה־ זהר*
2.13,14	ὡς ὅρασις ἠλέ κτρου	<u>כעין החשׁמלה</u>

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support for the originality of the OG, which restricts "fire" to the bottom half of the figure, "where alone it should be".

[55] The only other place in the OT where זהר (from the root "to gleam/shine") appears (in a possible angelological context) is Dan 12:3.

If the lines in italics above at 1.1; 1.13; 2.1, 2; 2.8 are removed, but the phrases kept in their original sequence as presented below, the chiastic pattern appears with perfect symmetry, and makes perfect sense in terms of the vision seen.

1.2,3 ὡς ὄψιν ἠλέκτρου	כעין חשמל (m.)	a
1.7-9 ὀσφύος καὶ ἐπάνω	מתניו ולמעלה	b
1.10-12 καὶ ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ὀσφύος καὶ ἕως κάτω	וממראה מתניו ולמטה	c
1.14 ὡς ὅρασιν πυρὸς,	כמראה־אש	d
1.15,16 καὶ τὸ φέγγος αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ	ונגה לו סביב:	
2.3 ὁμοίωμα	דמות	
2.4 ἀνδρός,	כמראה־אש	d
2.5-7 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕως κάτω	מתניו ולמטה	c
2.9,10 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ ὑπεράνω	וממתניו ולמעלה	b
2.13,14 ὡς ὅρασις ἠλέκτρου	כעין החשמלה (f.)	a

The above now reads as follows:

1.2,3	"Like the colour of hashmal (masculine)
1.7-9	from his loins upwards,
1.10-12	and from the appearance of his loins downwards
1.14	like the appearance of fire
1.15, 16	AND THE BRIGHTNESS AROUND HIM
2.3	A FORM
2.4	Like the appearance of fire/man
2.5-7	from the appearance of his loins downwards,
2.9, 10	and from his loins upwards
2.13, 14	like the colour of hashmal (feminine)

The central phrase "and brightness round about him" is surrounded by חשמל at 1.3 and החשמלה at 2.14. The effect of enfolding a unit is strengthened by the use of male and female forms of the word, signifying totality or completeness (Waldman 1984:618). This binding and completing effect is strengthened by the last phrase of Ez 1:27 "round about him", לו סביב, and the last phrase of Ez 5:5 "round about her" וסביבותיה, and seems to confirm the deliberate intention of connecting these two verses, especially as the latter is also preceded by a mention of fire. This is confirmed by the mirror image symmetry of 1.7-1.12 and 2.5-2.11 (cf. Lust 1999:23).

The main issue to decide is whether man or fire is intended at 2.4, where MT has "fire" and OG has "man". If fire were correct, this would provide perfect symmetry, but the possibility that it could also be a "signpost" [56] by means of typical Hebrew word play to convey hidden meaning, should be kept in mind. If "man" rather than "fire" was originally intended, an explanation must be sought for why MT read "fire" instead of "man" at 1.14 and 2.4, even though OG has ἀνδρός at the latter position. As has been stated as a principle of textual criticism, the more difficult text is the older text. The above symmetrical reconstruction of Ez 1:27 confirms that the OG version is the earlier and more original.

The possibility must be considered that the construction of this overarching ring composition was done at a later stage, or that it is simply coincidence, but the way the phrase "brightness ... round about him" is implanted in the centre of this symmetrical construction, and actually describes the "glory of the Lord", seems to be emphasising Ezekiel's central focus, and it seems reasonable that ἀνδρός is the correct reading.

3.1.5   DISCUSSION

The possibility must be considered that the reading of אֵשׁ at 2.4 is simply a scribal error in leaving out the *yod* of אִישׁ, or that a later rabbinic avoidance of anthropomorphism resulted in a deliberate alteration from "man" to "fire".

Halperin (1976:140) states that the identification of the "living beings" with the *cherubim* is not perceptible in chapter 1, which he surmises was a sacred "fixed" text from a very early period, but he suggests that Ez 10:9-17 is an embryonic form of the Jewish mystical system known in the rabbinic writings as the *maaseh merkabah* [57] and that it arose from exegesis of Ezekiel 1. By studying it in combination with Ez 8:2 the above reconstruction of Ez 1:27 demonstrates that the germ of *maaseh merkabah* was already present in

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[56] As has been described by Rabbi A. Seltzer, Ancient Studies Seminar, U.Stell., 1999, where an anomaly or discrepancy in the text may sometimes be present deliberately as a cue to hidden information.
[57] The "work of the chariot" (Bowker 1969:38 n.1), i.e. "the ascent of the soul to the Celestial throne where it obtains an ecstatic view of the majesty of God and the secrets of His Realm" (Scholem 1961:5).

chapter 1. In this regard Ez 1:14 is extremely interesting because if verse 14 of chapter 1 was originally present, and not developed later in chapter 10 as suggested by Halperin, its angelological and magical connotations with respect to running back and forth in association with the "*galgal*" and the *Iynges* of the *Chaldean Oracles*, would explain why the two verses 14 in chapters 1 and 10 were excluded from the OG translation. Bowker (1969:38) discusses this phenomenon: "later generations did their best to suppress what they felt to be unworthy or unorthodox in earlier times. Perhaps the clearest example of this is in the case of mystical and magical Judaism. ... In rabbinic Judaism an attempt was made to bring mysticism under control."

It is interesting that the rabbis considered that the book of Ezekiel taught *halakot* in the Temple vision which were inconsistent with the Torah (Bowker 1971:158). According to Uehlinger and Trufaut (2001:166), from the hellenistic period onwards the rabbis of the Babylonian diaspora considered the visionary text of Ezekiel 1 to look too closely into mysteries whose knowledge should be reserved to God Himself.

The significance of the movement of the "glory of the Lord" from the "Lord's house" (Ez 10:18) has been described by Rowland (1982:96): "Ezekiel himself knows of the independence of God's *kabod* from the throne chariot. In the second appearance of the chariot, in 10:18 the prophet sees the *kabod* moving from above the cherubim to take up a position in another part of the Temple." Rowland suggests that ultimately this passage lies behind the theological scene in Daniel 7:13f. in the sense of the "gradual separation of divine functions which appears to be taking place in the book of Ezekiel, which results in Daniel 7:13f. where there are two divine figures." This far-reaching interpretation is discussed further in chapter 4 part 3. Mettinger (1982:110) notes that the radiant aura surrounding the manifestation of God's majesty in Ez 1:28 may be related to the "flaming sword" of Gen 3:24. The concept of fire surrounding God's throne crops up repeatedly in one form or another through almost all the texts studied and is discussed again in the final chapter.

3.1.6 CONCLUSION

The conclusion of Part 1 of this chapter is that there are clues to angelological content under the surface of this text, and especially in the two verses 14 in chapters 1 and 10, which I contend were originally there, but excised later because of their underlying angelological content. Halperin (1982:363) observes that the Greek translators of Ezekiel (possibly in c.150 BCE) show a concern with extracting, or concealing the implications of the sacred text, as does the Targum. The rabbis' restrictions on *merkabah* mysticism were because of allusions to a mystical practice which involved ascent to the divine realms and direct contemplation of the *merkabah* and its attendant beings. Bowker (1969:38) points out that an attempt was made to prohibit the reading in synagogue of the visionary chapters of Ezekiel (sometimes referred to as the "chariot chapters"), but "the rabbis were unable to deny that some of the early rabbis made *merkabah* mysticism a part of their religious experience." Morray-Jones (1992:14) confirms that "there are good grounds for believing that some first- and second-century rabbis attempted to suppress an early tradition of the ascent into heaven of men who received the divine Name and became in some way associated or identified with the Angel of the Lord,[58] or with the Form of God as enthroned Logos-Power-Glory, but that this tradition was kept alive in esoteric circles." He attributes the rabbinic hostility towards these traditions in part due to the emergence of Christianity.[59] This observation of the vital role that Jewish angelology played in the emergence of Christianity is considered further in chapter 7.

A leap in time is made now in Section 2 because the following two texts from Qumran relate closely to Ezekiel 1 and 10, even though they are later in time than the Jewish texts dealt with in chapter 4.

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[58] This possibility of deification of human beings has been considered by Fletcher-Louis (2002b) and is discussed in part 2A and in later chapters of this dissertation.
[59] Hurtado (1988:21) confirms that early Christians used Jewish speculation on divine agents as a conceptual framework for understanding the exalted Christ.

CHAPTER 3 SECTION 2.
TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

The connection between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the settlement at Qumran has been proved by archaeological research. According to archaeological evidence (Magness 2002:13, 16, 38) Qumran was first occupied from c.100 to 31 BCE. In 31 BCE a major earthquake took place, and Qumran archaeology reflects this in that the area was unoccupied until 4 BCE, when it was again inhabited up to 73/74 CE. Magness confirms that Qumran was a sectarian settlement: "an apocalyptic group awaiting the eschaton", and she identifies the sectarians as Essenes (Magness 2002:68). However, García Martínez (1994:liii) proposes the "Gröningen Hypothesis", in which the origins of the Essene movement and the Qumran community are quite separate. According to this hypothesis, the Qumran sectarians, under the leadership of the "Teacher of Righteousness", rejected the Essene movement and retreated to Qumran.[60] Magness (2002:42, 204) suggests that one reason for the Qumran community's split from the temple cult was their anti-Hellenising attitude and preference for the biblical Hebrew tradition. This was partly a response to the adoption of Greek practices by other Jewish groups, particularly within the framework of the Qumran community's quarrel with the hellenized priesthood of the Jerusalem temple.

The Dead Sea Scrolls share aspects and problems of beliefs in angels with the Judaism of their period.[61] However, Mach (2000:25) has warned that the Qumran writings increase the difficulty of defining Jewish angelology, partly because of lack of knowledge concerning their provenance, and partly because the different works attributed to the Qumran community show quite disparate beliefs and motives concerning angels.

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[60] Boccaccini (1998:11) has gone one step further and hypothesised that Enochic Judaism, which he defines as a distinct variety of Second Temple Judaism based on *I Enoch*, was part of Essenism but was not fully accepted by the more conservative Qumranites and that Enochic/Essene Judaism polemically rejected the ideas of the Qumran Sectarians.

[61] Designations for God or terms that survived from polytheistic myth were now understood as angelic designations, regardless of earlier probable meanings, for example the "sons of God" (Gen. 6:1-4) become divine beings/angels, as already evident in the Septuagint.

Combining different sources is highly problematic and might produce an artificially coherent picture.

3.2 SECTION 2A: *SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE*

3.2.1 DATING AND TERMINOLOGY FOR ANGELS

According to Mach (2000:1:25) the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is a classic source for a fully developed angelology at Qumran, but it is unlikely that it is a sectarian writing. It was published by Carol Newsom in DJD XI in 1998, and is extant in 10 fragmentary copies: 4Q400-407, 11QShirShabbi, and one copy from Masada (MasShirShabbi). Davidson (1992:139) stated that the major sectarian writings from Qumran all date from between about 170 to 100 BCE, and he assumed a sectarian origin for *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. However, Magness (2002:16) reports that Qumran was only first occupied from c. 100 BCE. When Newsom published her first critical edition of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* in 1985 she thought *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was written at Qumran but later she stated that it may have a pre-Qumran origin, because of 1) the copy at Masada, 2) the use of *elohim* as God's name,[62] and 3) a lack of distinctively sectarian rhetoric. However, Collins (1997b:9) notes that several compositions from Qumran have no distinctively sectarian vocabulary or motifs, and yet are quite compatible with the sectarian world view, so that in many cases it may be impossible to draw a clear line between compositions that are sectarian and those that are not. Newsom (2000:887) suggests a composition date of the second century BCE. Recently, Fletcher-Louis (2002b:394) emphatically stated that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are sectarian because they are full of the language and ideas "peculiar to the Qumran community", and its affinity with 1 QS 8-10, *Community Rule*. The headings in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* assume the solar calendar used at Qumran, but this is also presupposed in other works preserved but not composed by the Qumran community, e.g. Jubilees and *I Enoch*. The extant copies of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* have been dated on the basis of

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[62] אלוהים is avoided in sectarian writings except for quotations, but used extensively in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* for both God and angels, although it is often ambiguous. In 11QMelch 2:8-9 אלוהים may refer to Melchizedek (Davidson 1992:248).

Paleographic studies which have distinguished Hasmonean scripts (c.150-30 BCE) from Herodian (c.30 BCE - 70 CE). The extant copies arose during both these periods.

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was originally a cycle of thirteen songs, one for each of the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year consisting of an initial heading, date, and a call to praise God. The rest of each song develops differently, but each one contains some description of angelic praise, the heavenly temple, and the angelic priesthood, and was apparently intended for communal worship for a group with a strong priestly identity. The general overall design and structure according to Newsom and Davila is presented in Chart B. This structure is perceived in a more nuanced way by Fletcher-Louis (2002b:264), who does not agree that the seventh song forms the climax, but rather that the climax occurs at the end of the text.

Fletcher-Louis (2002b:32) observes that there are many texts from the Second Temple period which describe the righteous, especially the king, the priest and Moses, in angelic or divine terms. This is echoed in Davidson's translation below of כוהנים as "priests, holy ones". According to Davidson (1992:236-238, 244, 250, 251) the following are all terms for angels at Qumran.

אלוהים is avoided in sectarian writings except for quotations, but used extensively in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* for both God and angels, although it is often ambiguous. Newsom translates this word as "godlike beings", Garcia Martinez as "gods". In the context of this dissertation "angels" would be apt.

אלים is a regular angelic designation at Qumran. It always refers to angels and occurs frequently.

הרמים is translated 'lofty ones' and probably refers to angels because of its parallelism with the following clearly angelic designations.

קדושי אלוהים "the holy ones of God"[63]

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[63] Newsom (1985:63) notes that there is a "certain ambiguity" in the term קדושים, which might refer either to the members of the Qumran community or to the angels. Priestly service shared with the angels in the eschatological or heavenly temple is the "peculiar blessing of the priesthood".

כוהנים "priests, holy ones"

משרתי פנים "ministers of the Presence"

מעשי רוח "spiritual creatures"

According to Davidson (1992:237) *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* conceives of heaven as a temple in which the angels worship, so that various terms listed below usually translated as "temple" actually refer to heaven:

היכל "temple" (4Q400 1 I 13)

קודש "holy place" (4Q400 1 I 14)

משכן "tabernacle" (4Q403 1 ii 10)

דביר "debir" (4Q403 1 ii 13)

מקדש "sanctuary" (4Q405 23 ii 11)

Newsom (1985:71) indicates that the motif of the heavenly temple and priesthood is important for understanding the origin and function of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,[64] which she identifies as the cultivation of a mystical communion with the angels. The highly descriptive content and carefully crafted rhetoric gives a sense of being in the presence of the angelic priests and worshippers in the heavenly sanctuary - it is a means of communal mysticism (Newsom 2000:888). Newsom notes that although the *first Sabbath Song* is intended to be used during the week of consecration for the priesthood, there is a pre-occupation with the priestly function of the angels. Contra Fletcher-Louis (2002b:166), Newsom (2000:888) understands the *Songs* to be concerned with the establishment of angelic, not human, priesthood. Fletcher-Louis (2002b:166) perceives a belief at Qumran as a shared community between angels and men in which status (and identity) has become fluid between the two types of being. He supports the idea of a "community of human priests as God's angels", an "angelomorphic

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[64] In early Jewish thought there was a special connection between earth and heaven associated with Sabbath observance. This is derived from the Priestly writer's grounding of Sabbath observance in creation and in the imitation of the divine precedent (Gen. 2:1-3; Exod. 20:8-11).

priesthood",[65] but Davidson (1992:244) supports Newsom in contending that the distinction between angels and sectarians is always maintained in Qumran literature, although he concedes that the idea of close association between the sect members and the angels is a very important one. Newsom (2000:887) surmises that the origin of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was possibly in the priestly scribal circles that produced works such as Jubilees or Aramaic Levi, where the comparison of priests with angels is a characteristic motif. She points out that the presence of communal mysticism, with communion with angels during worship, is a motif already present in biblical literature, e.g. Ps 148: "Praise him all his angels; praise him all his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars of light"; Ps. 22:3, 25; and also in the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the three Young Men, verses 28, 36 and 66. Davila (2000:90) suggests that in view of the ancient idea that the earthly sanctuary is a shadow of the archetypal heavenly sanctuary, and because of "the hostility of the sectarians to the contemporary priestly power complex in Jerusalem, their liturgical use of these songs may have served as a validation of their self-identification as a spiritual temple".

The wide variety of perceptions of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* described above, is reconsidered and assessed at 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

3.2.2 THE TEXTS

Newsom's translation is used throughout, except where the translation of García Martínez is quoted as GM. Only the relevant Hebrew words are quoted because of the limitations of space.

3.2.2.1 THE FIRST SABBATH SONG, 4Q 400a Frg. 1 i.

This copy, which contains the first Song, is dated to the Late Hasmonean period (c.75-50 BCE). Taking the *Songs* in numerical sequence, line 9, "And every statute they (i.e. the holy priests) of the inner sanctum confirm for seven[", is the first extant reference to the

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[65] This term is discussed at the end of this chapter.

number seven, which plays a major structuring role in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.[66]

In lines 4 to 8, the stage is set with a description of "the assembly of all the gods of [ ] godlike ones" (בעדה לכול אלי] ... אלוהים). Line 8 clearly states the function of the priests:

Line 8: כוהנין] קורב משרתי פני מלך קודש   קודשים]

"[holiness   ] pries[ts of] the inner sanctum who serve before the King of holiest"

The above description strikes a chord with the setting of the Divine Council in Psalm 82. This impression is strengthened in line 12 below, but unlike Psalm 82 where the אלוהים are accused of failing their duties, these princes are holy priests in the "temples of the King" (בהיכלי מלך).[67]

line 12: קודש קודשים כו]הני ה]מה שרי]

"[ ]holiest holiness, pr[iests. Th]ey are princes of"

line 13a: בים בהיכלי מלך]

"] *bym* in the temples of the King"

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[66] The veneration in which the number seven was held at Qumran is evident throughout the structure of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Runia (2001:295) notes that Philo, amongst others, reports the number seven as having been regarded by the Pythagoreans as deserving of reverence (σεβασμός), and it was called σεπτάς, "the Greek word testifying to the veneration owing to number". Philo regarded the nature of seven to be sacred (*Op.* 99). In *Op.* I 104 Philo states " ... all bodies with instrumental force possess three dimensions - length, breadth and depth, as well as four limits: point, line, surface and solid body - when these are added together the seven is produced." In *Op.* 105 he explains: "... the seven ... consists of three and four. If you start doubling ... the third number from the one is a square [idea], the fourth .. a cube [matter] ... and the seventh number, 64, is both a cube and a square." Thus Philo concludes that the seventh number is "truly a completion bringer because it proclaims both kinds of equality" - of the surface (square) and of the solid (cube). (Translation by Runia 2001:73, 74). Philo's explanation of the significance of the number seven casts light on the shifting from two to three dimensions, and *vice versa,* which sometimes occurs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (see below). The implication is that Pythagoreanism was generally known in the Second Temple cultural context, including the Qumran context, but it must be kept in mind that *the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* may not have been composed at Qumran.

line 15c: כול קדושי עד ויטהר טהורי

"And He purifies the pure ones of"

Here at the end of line 15 the king is described as the one who "purifies the pure ones": ויטהר טהורי - by implication "all who repent of sin", therefore in the following line, the king acts as high priest. Regarding line 13, Newsom (1998:182) decides that "if one takes the verb here as *Piel* with God as the implicit subject, the import of lines 14-15 is that God has commanded certain laws, obedience to which sanctifies the angels, who are then purified for service in the holy temple."

Line 16b: "And they propitiate His good will for all who repent of sin."

line 18: ח]סדיו לסליחות רחמי עולמים ובנקמת קנאתו

"His [me]rcies for eternal compassionate forgiveness; but in His jealous vengeance".

The following lines bring the fragments to a close:

Lines 19-20:
"He established for Himself priests of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones ... gods (אלים), priests of the highest heavens those who [draw n]ear."

At the end of line 15 the difference in understanding between Fletcher-Louis on the one hand and Newsom and Davila on the other, comes clearly into focus. Newsom understands God to be the implicit subject, which seems clear. Both Davila and Newsom state that obedience to God's laws sanctifies the angels, and thus they are purified for service in the holy temple. The implication is that God as the King (line 13a) acts as a high priest, sanctifying the angels, by implication "all who repent of sin" (end of line 15). Thus here, if Fletcher-Louis believes that those who repent of sin can only be humans

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[67] This is similar to Egyptian kingship, where the pharaoh is actually the High Priest, but for practical purposes his priestly function is delegated to priest in the temples.

because repentance is not available to angels, then he has no option but to believe that the humans must be functioning as angels because they have been purified. The only alternative is to understand the angels as the ones who repent, as Newsom and Davila do. This could be in line with a later Enochian development as for instance identified by Martínez (2003b:15) in the *Epistle of Enoch* 98.4, where evil is the result of human action: "so sin was not sent to the earth, but man of himself created it". It becomes clear that the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* must be understood against an Enochian background, and then in addition, the transition that takes place in the later parts of *I Enoch* (discussed in chapter 4) must be taken into account, as well as the Gröningen hypothesis already mentioned. It appears that Fletcher-Louis has not taken into account that the Qumran sectarians may well have differed from the Enochian Essenes, and secondly, the uncertainty as to whether the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* are indeed a Qumran composition. If one accepts Fletcher-Louis' understanding of an angelomorphic priesthood, the question arises: what angels are these who have been purified by the King who acts as High Priest, and who have repented of sin? Does he mean they are humans who have become angels while still alive and now act as priests ministering to the sectarians, or are they deceased humans who are now serving God in heaven as angels? The ambiguous aspect of this question becomes an important isue in chapter 4, part 1, and is discussed again below.

The following discussion is restricted to the seventh, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth *Songs* which all allude to features from Ezekiel 1 and 10 and Daniel 7 which were mentioned in chapter 2. The fragmentary nature of these relics, and the relative recentness of research on this text, makes it impossible to draw final conclusions, so their use of Ezekiel 1 and 10 and Daniel 7 is the focus of the discussion, and is restricted to angelological motives in these texts.

3.2.2.2 THE SEVENTH SABBATH SONG

The seventh song in an early Herodian hand, consists of the following fragments:

>   4Q403 Frg. 1 i, lines 31-36, and 41-46;
>
>   4Q403 Frg. 1 ii, lines 5-15;

4Q405 Frg. 14-15 i;

4Q405 Frg. 15 ii - 16;

4Q405 Frg. 19 a, b, c, d.

The seventh song is a series of seven intricately developed calls to praise, addressed to the angels who worship in the heavenly temple. It exhorts the various classes of divinities to praise God forever and ever, and then calls on the architectural elements of the heavenly temple, (including the structures of the holy of holies) as "spirits of knowledge" (therefore all animate), to do the same. It describes the movements of the fiery divinities in the vicinity of the tabernacle and the praise offered by the temple furnishings, the inner chambers and the *cherubim* and *ophanim*. Fletcher-Louis (2002b:302-305) attempts to clarify the difference between "spirits" and "elohim", but it does not seem possible to clear up the ambiguity, considering the fragmentary state of the text.

4Q 403 Frg. 1i, lines 31-36a (Newsom 1998:269)

לכול (1)ראשי מרומים	כיא הו]א אל אלים [
of all the chiefs of the exalted heights	For H[e is God of gods] (line 34)
(3) לכול סודי עולמים	(2)ומלך מלכ]ים [
of all the eternal councils.	and King of king[s]
(line 35) לאמרי פיהו יהיו	(4) [בר]צון דעתו
(line 35) At the words of His mouth	By [His] discerning] [will]
(4) למ]וצא	כ]ול אלי רום [
come into being	a[ll the exalted gods];
כול רוחי עולמים	(5) שפתיו
all the eternal spirits	at the utterance of His lips
כול מעשיו	(5) [בר]צון דעתו
all His creatures	by] his discerning [w]ill
	(6) במשלחם
	in their undertakings

NOTES

1) Newsom translates ראשׁי here as "chiefs". The word appears at Ez 1:22, 25, 26 in a straightforward anatomical sense and consequently is translated in NRSV as "heads". However, where it appears in MT Ez 10:11b, it is translated in the OG as ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ μία, and as "the front wheel" in NRSV. Newsom's translation of ראשׁי as "chiefs" strengthens the argument in chapter 3 part 1 at the discussion on Ezekiel 10:13 where on the strength of the Coptic word which means both "head" and "wheel", I suggest that *galgal* should not be translated as wheel, but as "head/leader", thus conveying the sense of a divine being subordinate to the "God of gods" (as Newsom has it in her translation of line 34 above).

2) This title is also found in *I Enoch* 9:4; 1 Tim 6:16; Rev 17:14 and 19:16 (Davila 2000:125).

3) Newsom (1998:270) suggests that it is likely that the angels addressed are the members of the seven angelic councils (also mentioned in 4Q403 1 ii 11-12, 22).

4)-4) Davila (2000:125) understands this as a statement of the creation of angels on the first day, as mentioned in Jub 2.2-3.[68]

5)-5) Newsom reconstructs the corrupt phrase as למוצא,"come into being", but this obscures the triadic parallelism of lines 4)-4) and 5)-5) (abcbca),[69] therefore I wonder whether this reconstruction is correct. Davila (2000:125) translates כול מעשׁיו as "all

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[68] Jubilees 2.2-3 states that the angels were created on the first day. According to VanderKam (1984:180) Jubilees was not composed before c.165-160 BCE. Sullivan (2004:215) states that Jubilees is dependent on Gen 6 and *I Enoch*, but makes its own interpretation and adaptation of the text based on interpretations that were current at the time. The orientation of Jubilees is that angels were sent to earth by God to teach mankind, but they turned away from God and polluted themselves by copulating with human females. Jubilees 2.2, 3 describes two main types of angels: angels of the presence and angels of sanctification, and then there are various angels of cosmological phenomena, including angels of the spirit of fire.

[69] By his discerning will   At the words of his mouth   All the exalted gods
                              At the utterance of his lips   All the eternal Spirits   By his discerning will
                                                                All his creatures ...

Cf. Chaldean Oracle triads, chapter 6, part 3.

his works" and understands it in this context to refer to "created beings", since their actions are described in the next line.

6) Davila (2000:123,124) translates this word as "in their actions", but notes that the root שלח means "to send". This would then conform to a combination of Divine Council and *Chaldean Oracle* sense of the angels ("all the exalted gods/eternal spirits") being sent out at the command of the "King of kings" "at the utterance of his lips". This does not imply that there is necessarily a connection between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *Chaldean Oracles*, but that there is a similar concept of angelic functioning. The angelic functioning arising from the "God of gods and King of kings of all the eternal councils" in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, where the angelic beings are sent out "at the utterance of his lips", is similar to descriptions of angelic activity in the *Chaldean Oracles,* where the intermediary activity of the Iynges arises from the "most kingly All-Father" (see chapter 6, part 3).

4Q403 Frg. 1 i lines 41-46.

After the seven calls to praise addressed to the angels, in lines 41 to 46, given below, the animate structures and architectural features of the heavenly temple are called upon to join in the praise (only the most relevant Hebrew lines are given).

> 41.With these let all the f[oundations of the hol]y of holies praise, the uplifting pillars of the supremely exalted abode, and all the corners of its structure. Sin[g praise]

> 42 אלו]הים נ]ורא כוח] כול רוחי דעת ואור [70 ל]מש]א יחד רקיע זו טוהר טהורים למקדש

> 42. to Go[d who is dr]eadful in power[, all you spirits of knowledge and light]in order to [exa]lt together the splendidly shining firmament of [His] holy sanctuary.

It is not clear exactly what the phrase "spirits of knowledge" refers to, but upon reading further to lines 43 to 46, a variety of "spirits" are mentioned as praising, therefore the

phrase "spirits of knowledge" seems to include the entire structure which makes up the support of the firmament upon which the throne rests, including the *ophanim* and *cherubim*.[71] Thus Newsom's translation which conveys a sense of unified (יחד) function, is apt. Newsom notes (1998:333) that in the ancient hymn, Ps 24:7, 9, the temple itself praises when God enters. The heavenly temple, being of an animate, spiritual, fiery substance (cf. *I Enoch* 14, discussed in chapter 4 part 1), is adorned with spirits who praise when the king enters. She notes that the author of the *Songs* completely avoids the term *cherubim* for the creatures engraved on the walls and doors of the sanctuary, restricting that term to the beings who bear the *merkabah*.

> 43.[Give praise to Hi]m, O god-[like] spirits, in order to pr[aise for ever and e]ver the firmament of the upper[m]ost heaven, all [its] b[eams]and its walls, a[l]l
>
> 44. its [for]m, the work of [its] struc[ture. The spir]its of holie[st] holiness, living god-like beings[, spir]its of [eter]nal holi[ness] above
>
> 45. all the hol[y ones wonder, marvelous in majesty. And the God of gl]ory [is wondrous] with the most perfect light of kn[owledge]
>
> 46. [in all the wondrous sanctuaries; the godlike spirits (are) round about the abode of the King of truth and righteousness. A]l[l its walls

4Q403 Frg. 1ii, lines 1-16.

The conclusion of the seventh song in Frg. 1 ii lines 1-16, appears to describe the throne of God, if that can be equated with "the uppermost exalted tabernacle, the glory of his Kingdom, the inner shrine[" (line 10). In line 11 "seven exalted places" are mentioned. Again the heavenly temple in all its various parts is summoned to join in the praise of God, and is in turn praised by the angelic spirits. The song concludes in lines 15 and 16

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[70] Newsom suggests that the *lamed* clause can best be understood as expressing the purpose or result of the angelic praise.

[71] If Newsom's reconstruction is correct in the eleventh Song 4Q405 Fr. 19 abcd, lines 5 to 7 (Newsom 1998:339-343) where line 5b commences with "luminous spirits " in parallel with "god-like beings, engraved", which are in line 6 described as "living, god-like beings", then in line 7 the "god-like beings" i.e. "luminous spirits" are indeed "blessing", אל [והי] ם ברכי. However, the text is so fragmentary that it is not possible to be certain about its content.

with the praise uttered by the *merkabot* (plural), the *cherubim* and *ophanim* (Newsom 1998:282):

> "the chariots of His inner shrine give praise together, and their *cherubim* and thei[r] *ophanim* bless wondrously [the chiefs of the divine structure. And they praise Him in the holy inner shrine."

This fragment, and especially line 3, is clearly based on Ezekiel 1 and 10, but describes the phenomenon of angelic function at the throne of God in a completely different format, with a sense of the immediacy of the angelic activity taking place, thus actually clarifying Ezekiel 1 and 10.

1 אורתום רוקמת רוח קודש קודשי]ם

Line 1: "perfect light, the mingled colours of a spirit of holiest holines[s

2 במותי דעת ובהדום רגליו ג]ן

Line 2: "high places of knowledge. And at His footstool *g*["

Psalms 99:5 and 132:7b express the idea of worshipping at God's footstool, but in approximately the same post-exilic time frame Isa. 66:1 states "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool". Assuming that the allusion to the footstool implies that the action takes place on earth, line 2 highlights the contentious issue raised by Fletcher-Louis (2002a:399-401) of whether the Qumran sectarians or at least the priests as God's angels (Fletcher-Louis 2002b:166), regarded themselves as one with the angels when they worshipped, i.e. to what extent were they already deified or at least divine, beings on earth? However, there is not enough information here to clarify this issue, which is discussed again after subsequent texts have been dealt with.

3 מראי תבנית כבוד לראשי ממלכות רוחנ]י

Line 3: "the appearance of the glorious form of the chiefs of the realm of spirit[s

4 כבודו ובכול מהפכיהם שערי]

Line 4: "His glory. And in all their turnings the gates .[

The term שערי is interesting in this context and may indicate that if לדוש in line 5 below should be amended to ראש, it should be translated as "heads" rather than "chiefs"

as Newsom has, because of the phrase "Lift up your heads oh gates ... that the King of glory may come in" (Ps 24:9).

5 לכת רקי]ן[לן   ]לה לדוש[72]אל]והי[

Line 5: "moving *rqy*[ ]*l*[ ]*lh* to the chief of the god-like beings[

6 מבינותם ירוצו אנ]ל]ו[ה]ים מראי [73] גחלין אש

Line 6: "from between them go[d-l]ike beings run like the appearance of coals
of fire"

7 מתהלך סביב רוחות קודש קידשים]

Line 7: "moving round about, spirits of holiest holiness ["

9 ורוחות אלוהים בדני להבת להבת אש סביבה ל]

Line 9 "and divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it l["

Lines 6 and 9 reflect the angelic activity originally described in Ez 1:14. In Ez 1:6 the use of the word ירוצו here, makes the lexical connection to the word רצוא in Ez 1:14 MT. This is followed in line 9 by the description "flaming fire round about", which echoes the description in Ez 1:27 as "the appearamce of fire round about within it". In chapter 3 part 1, both verses 1:14 and 1:27 were shown to be key angelological texts.   It is striking that here they seem to be alluded to in a description of intense angelic activity.

15 והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו וברכו פלא כרוביהם ואופניהן]ם

Line 15 "And the chariots of His inner shrine give praise together, and their *cherubim* and thei[r] *ophanim* bless wondrously ["

16 ראשי תבנית אלוהים והללוהו בדביר קודש[ ] *vacat*]

Line 16 "the chiefs of the divine structure. And they praise Him in the holy inner shrine." *Vacat*

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[72] Davila (2000:128) translates this as "divinities", and García Martínez (1994:423) as "gods".

[73] This phrase appears in Ez 1:13, but is translated in NRSV as "burning coals of fire" which in its literalness strengthens the association with Ez 10:2b where the phrase is translated in NRSV as burning coals. The nearest phrase in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* line 11b is שבלי אש which Dimant (2001:44) translates as "streams of fire", but this is a dubious reconstruction (cf. part 2B). Line 9 has another variation: "flaming fire".

Concerning line 15 Newsom (1998:286) states that the presence of the adverb יחד and the plural suffixes make it certain that these nouns are plural, and she understands the plural *merkabot* as an instance of plural thrones, described in the act of praising together with the *cherubim* and their *ophanim*, but without certainty about the significance of plural thrones, it is not possible to know how the sectarians would have understood this context.

4Q405 Frg. 14-15i

This text is written in a Late Hasmonean formal hand (150-30 BCE), slightly later than 4Q400 (Newsom 1998:308).[74] Lines 5-8 describe the likeness of living god-like beings engraved in the vestibules where the king (מלך) enters, as figures of "luminous spirit - glorious light". Newsom (1998:332) identifies the source of this idea as I Kings 6:29. If this is correct, then it may confirm the connection that the author of *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* equated the seat beneath the *cherubim* in the ark of the holy of holies in Solomon's temple with the throne of God described here, on the pattern of Ezekiel 1 and 10.

4Q405 Frg. 15ii-16

ונהרי אור [

מראי להבי אש]

Line 2 "and rivers of fire [75] [ ].[ ].. ...[ ].["

Line 3a "the appearance of flames of fire["

These references to fire demonstrate the constancy with which this element appears in connection with the shrine or sanctuary of the "King"/throne of God.[76] This motif of fire is discussed at the end of this chapter and in the final chapter.

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[74] Dating according to Cross (1961:170-264).

[75] Newsom translates this word as "fire" rather than "light" here in DJD in 1998, because of criticism by Qimron (1986:370) of her 1985 critical edition, where she had translated נהרי אור as "rivers of light". Qimron states that the word here is not אוֹר light, but אוּר "fire". This does seem to be in harmony with the rest of the content of this fragment, but also indicates the close connection between "fire" and "light" in an angelological context.

[76] Newsom (1998:336) comments on 4Q405 Frg.15ii-16 line 2 that the motif of "rivers of fire" "becomes a standard part of the environs of the heavenly throne in descriptions of heaven from the time of *I Enoch*". *I Enoch* 14:19 is the earliest extant extra-biblical reference to this motif which is also present in Dan 7:10.

4Q405 Frg. 17

Line 6 mentions a plurality of seats, מושבי. Newsom notes that here it is not possible to determine whether multiple thrones are intended, or whether here the term is a plural of majesty.[77] The issue of multiple thrones is discussed again at the end of chapter 4.

To summarise, significant information that has emerged from the seventh *Sabbath Song* is the following:

1) In note 1) on 4Q403 Frg.1i the concept of ראשי as "chiefs" in relation to the *galgal* as "head" or "leader" agrees with the suggestions made in 3.2.3 in the discussion on Ezekiel 10:13.

2) Note 5) of the discussion on 4Q403 Frg. 1i suggests a similarity between *the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *Chaldean Oracles* in the sense of the angels being sent out at the command of the "King of kings".

3) The above fragment confirms the function and position of the cherubim as supporters of the *merkabah* throne, and praise.

4) 4Q403 Frg. 1 ii is clearly based on Ezekiel 1 and 10, but raises the issue of angelic ambiguity in terms of the possible sectarians' understanding of their divine status. It mentions plural thrones מרכבות in this context.   4Q405 Frg. 17 also mentions a plurality of seats, מושבי.

5) 4Q405 Frg. 15ii-16 mentions the important angelological motif of "rivers of fire", which apparently represents a constant stream of angels going forth from, and returning to, the throne.

3.2.2.3 THE ELEVENTH SONG

4Q405 Frg. 19 a, b, c, d

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[77] At 4Q403 I ii 15 a plurality of chariot thrones is clearly intended. This is further confirmed in 4Q 405 Frg. ii-21, lines 3-5 below. Cf. Pss 84:2 and 43:3 where multiple tabernacles are mentioned.

This fragment comes from the middle of the eleventh song, and parts overlap with 11QShirShabb VI, which has established the correct placement of a, c and d, but b is still in doubt (Newsom 1998:339). Lines 5-6 speak of the "figures of the shapes of god-like beings, engraved round about their glorious brickwork. *I Enoch* 14:10 speaks of tesselated walls which may have influenced the דבקי פלא of 4Q405 19 5". Newsom (1998:341) notes that it is not immediately apparent whether the phrases רקיע פלא and ללבני [כ]בודם describe specifically the throne itself, or apply to the architectural features of the shrine, but she understands the references to רקיע פלא in line 3 and ללבני [כ]בודם in line 6, below, as referring to the platform on which the throne rests.[78]

Line 5b. luminous spirits. A[l]l their [workmanship] (is of) h[oly] wondrous mosaic,[spirits]of mingled colours,[fi]gures of the shapes of god-like beings, engraved [79]

Line 6. round about their [gl]orious brickwork, glorious images of the b[ric]kwork of splendour and majes[ty.]Living god-like beings (are) all their construction

Line 7. and the images of their figures (are) holy angels. From underneath the wondrous s[hrines] (comes) a sound of quiet stillness, god-like beings blessing.

4Q405 Frg. 20 ii-21

This fragment preserves the ending, and the subject is clearly the divine chariot throne (or thrones):

1 לוא יתמהמהו בעומדם   [   ] ירי כול כוהני קורב

They do not delay. When they take their stations the] *yry* [80] of all the priests of the inner sanctum [

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[78] Cf. Ez 1:15 and Ex 24:9,10: "Then Moses and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up, and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sappire stone, like the very heaven for clearness."

[79] These engraved, two-dimensional "god-like beings" are described in the following lines as actively blessing, so one would expect that they are transformed into three-dimensional beings. Baumgarten (1988:203, 4) discusses this description of images of "holy angels underneath" carved on the wall and doors of the temple, even in the debir, as attested in I Kings 6:29, 32, 35.

[80] Only a trace of the descender is visible for the first letter. The last letter is either *yod* or *waw*.

2 בח[וק ית]כלכלו לש[ות]רת][ ]מושב ככסא מלכותו בנ[דבירי כבודו לוא ישבו

By strict [ordinance they] are steadfast in the ser[vice of].[ ] a seat like His royal throne in [His glorious shrines. They do not sit

3 מרכבות כבוד[ון   ]כרובי קודש אופני אור בד[ביר   רוחות אלוהי   טוהר

His glorious chariots [ ] holy *cherubim*, luminous *ophannim* in the sh[rine spirits of god-like beings purity

קודש מעשי פנו[ת ו]ממלכו[ת מושבי כבוד למרכבו[ת כנפי דעת גבורת פלא
4

of holiness, the construction of [its] corner[s] royal [ ] the glorious seats of the chariot[s wings of knowledge wondrous powers

5 אמת וצדק עולמ[ים   ]מרכבות כבודו בלכתמה ל[⁸¹לוא יסבו לכול ישרו

truth and righteousness, eternal [ ] His glorious chariots. As they move *l*[they do not turn to any side they go straight

Of interest here is the phrase מושב ככסא in line 2 which clarifies the distinction between these two words, "seat" and "throne". There is an amazing intertwining here of the concept of "spirits of god-like beings" and the physicality of the construction which the angelic elements of *cherubim* and *ophanim* form, especially in the phrase "the glorious seats of the chariots wings of knowledge wondrous powers truth and righteousness". The same effect is achieved in the thirteenth *Song* below.

Newsom (1998:345) deduces on the basis of line 4 here, "the glorious seats of the chariots" that the 11th Sabbath Song concludes with an account of what appears to be multiple chariot thrones. The plural thrones of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are discussed again in chapter 4 on the book of Daniel.

Line 5 echoes the "do not turn" refrain from Ez 1:9, 12, 17 and 10:11, 16. The twelfth *Song* follows on directly in this fragment.

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⁸¹ The ''not turning" crops up here again.

3.2.2.4 THE TWELFTH SABBATH SONG (NEWSOM 1998:345).

Traditionally Ezekiel 1 and the Sinai revelation as described in Exodus 19-20 were read together on the annual festival of Shavu'ot (Halperin 1988:58). Thus the strange "living beings" of Ezekiel's vision were coupled with the angels of the Sinai revelation from earliest times. This is confirmed by Psalm 68:17 (LXX 67:18) which connects the association of angels and chariotry, with the Sinai revelation:

> "With mighty chariotry, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands,
> the Lord came from Sinai into the holy place" (NRSV).

The twelfth *Sabbath Song* was intended to be read on the Sabbath immediately following *Shavu'ot*, when the synagogue reading is Ezekiel 1. It is a description of the chariot throne, clearly based on Ezekiel 1. A substantial part of the twelfth Sabbath song is preserved in Frg. 4Q405 20 ii-21-22, given below. It begins with a lengthy description of the appearance and movement of the divine chariot throne. The appearance of the *merkabah* is greeted with praise and blessing from the assembled ranks of angels (also described in 11QShirShabb 5-6). The *merkabah*, throne of Glory, is described in terms which appear to depend heavily on both Ezekiel 1 and 10. This text and especially lines 9-11 below are of particular interest for this dissertation. Here they are placed within their context, and are discussed sequentially as they are encountered. Newsom's translation (1998:347) is given first, followed by that of García Martínez where relevant.

4Q405 20 ii-21-22 lines 6-14

6 [למש]כיל שיר עולת [הש]בת שתים עשרא[ן בעשרים ואחד לחודש השלישי הללו לאל[והי

For the Instr[uctor. Song of the sacrifice of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of the third month. Praise the God of

7 [ש]ני פ]לא ורומ[מ]ו[]הו כפי הכבוד במש[כן [אל והי] דעת יפול[ו] לפנו ה[כרו]בים וב[ר]כו בהרוממ קול דממת אל והים

wo [ndrous [years] and exalt Him according to the Glory. In the tabern[acle of the God of] knowledge the [*cheru*]bim fall before Him; and they bl[es]s as they lift themselves up. A sound of divine stillness

8 [נשמע [והמון רנה ברים כנפיהם קול[] דממ]ת אל והים תבנית כסא

90

<div dir="rtl">

מרכבה מברכים ממעל לרקיע הכרובים

</div>

is heard;]and there is a tumult of jubilation at the lifting up of their wings, a sound of divine [stillnes]s. The image of the chariot throne do they bless (which is) above the platform of the *cherubim*.

<div dir="rtl">

9 [והו]ד רקיע האור ירננו ממתחת מושב כבודו
ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש <u>יצא</u>[82] ומבין

</div>

"And the splendo]ur of the luminous platform do they sing (which is) beneath His glorious seat. And when the wheels move, the holy angels return. They go out from between"

GM: "and they sing [the splen]dour of the shining vault (which is) beneath the seat of his glory. And when the *ophanim* move forward, the holy angels go back; they emerge among … "

I propose the following literal translation of line 9b: "And in their going the *ophanim* return. Holy angels go out and from between".   This clearly shows the derivation from MT Ez 1:14 ("and the living beings ran and returned like the lightning"):

<div dir="rtl">

והחיות <u>רצוא</u> ושוב כמראה הבזק:

</div>

In 4Q405 20 ii line 2, the throne is singular but the chariots in line 3 are plural. Here in lines 8-9 כסא and מושב are parallel terms. The parallelism in line 9 b indicates that the *ophanim* are actually the holy angels. Here the *ophanim* of line 9b take the place of the living beings of Ez 1:14, but as it has already been established regarding Ez 1:15, 19-21 and Ez 10:16,19 that the *ophanim* and living beings/*cherubim* together form one unit of angelic activity, I understand the *ophanim* and the holy angels to be set in parallel in line 9b, i.e, they are one and the same. What is being described here is the essence of angelic activity - moving out from the central throne of God, and returning. Newsom (1998:352) recognises that the paired verbs of line 9b ושוב and יצא are drawn from a form of Ez 1:14 like that underlying the LXX (MT רצוא ושוב) and suggests that the author may have known both textual traditions.

<div dir="rtl">

10 [ג]<u>לגלי</u> כבודו כמראי אש רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי

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[82] Newsom (1998:351) agrees with Strugnell that this phrase should be emended to יצאו מבין.

אש בדמות חשמל ומעשי

"its glorious [h]ubs[83]. Like the appearance of fire (are) the most holy spirits round about, the appearance of streams of fire like *hashmal*. And there is a [ra]diant substance"

GM: "the glorious wheels with the likeness of fire, the spirits of the holy of holies. Around them, the likeness of a stream of fire like electrum, and a luminous substance"

Newsom (1998:352) does not recognise the "streams of fire" שבולי אש as part of the imagery of Ez 1:27, yet the upper part of the body of the form like a man on the throne, had the appearance of fire, and the movement of the fiery beings out from God's throne would indeed, by implication, form "streams of fire". Newsom notes (1998:340) that "streams of fire" are indeed part of the imagery of the divine throne in *1 Enoch* 14:19, and interestingly, at Dan 7:9b -10, the wheels (called *galgali* there) of the divine throne are associated with streams of fire:

כרסיה שביבין די־נור גלגלוהי נור דלק׃
נהר די־נור נגד ונפק מן־קדמוהי

"his throne was fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him."

Newsom (1998:352) does however recognise that "the Shirot is not without ambiguity", and that "the streams of fire are not separate heavenly phenomena but are the visual appearance of the angelic spirits who move with the *ophanim,* going out and returning between the 'hubs'". I contend that the "hubs"/galgali are themselves the "angelic spirits" "running and returning" (Ez 1:14) at high speed, therefore creating the appearance of streams of fire flowing out from the wheels. The following translation for line 10, re-establishes the key (underlined) words *galgali* and *hashmal* with their angelological connotations, which were eliminated in the above translations:

"Glorius *galgali*/whirling wheels like the appearance of fire, spirits surrounding the holy of holies, the appearance of streams of fire with a form something like *hashmal*, and a radiance."

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[83] Note translation of גלגל an Aramaic word for "wheels", with "hubs".

Newsom (1998:352) states that the image generated by lines 9b and 10 is that of "fiery angelic beings who habitually move back and forth with the movement of the *ophanim*", but having translated גלגלי as "hubs" rather than "whirling wheels", the connotations with the wheels themselves as angelic beings, (explicated in Part 1 of this chapter) seems to have gone unnoticed by her. She recognises that line 10 is an explication of Ez 1:27a, but states that "the Glory of God is experienced as a multitude of angelic spirits who appear to surround and move with the chariot throne."

Newsom's translation does not reflect that the chariot throne, including the streams of fire, is described as made up entirely of angelic beings. [84]

11 [נ]וגה ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה רוחות [א]ל והים
חיים מתהלכים [85] תמיד עם כבוד מרכבות

"with glorious mingled colours, wondrously hued, brightly blended, the spirits of living [g]odlike beings which move continuously with the glory of [the] wondrous chariots."

GM: "with glorious colours, wonderfully intermingled, brightly combined. The spirits of the living gods move constantly with the glory of the wonderful chariots."

12. [ה]פלא וקולדממת ברך בהמון לכתם והללו קודש בהשיב דרכיהם
בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכן

"There is a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement a holy praise as they return on their paths. As they rise, they rise wondrously; and when they settle",

Newsom (1998:353) recognises the occurrence of the root רום underlined in line 12 above as a clear indication that Ezekiel 10:17 וברומם ירומו אותם (and when they

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[84] In translating the phrase רוחות קודש קדשים as "most holy spirits" Newsom accepts that in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the כבוד of God is interpreted as רוחות, "spirits", and this is confirmed in line 11.

[85] This participle refers back to Ez 1:13 where the Hitpael participle of הלך describes the movement of the fiery substance seen among the living beings (Newsom 1998:353). Cf. chapter 3 part 1, paragraph on Ez 1:13.

mounted up, these mounted up with them;) is the specific source for this construction of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.*

4Q405 Frg. 23i

Line 3 mentions "His glorious royal throne and all the assembly of those who serve *vacat* wondrously". A highly parallelistic section describes the procession of angels in and out of the heavenly sanctuary. Here too, the animate structures of the heavenly temple seem to be described as singing praise. From line 8 to 11a, the activity of the "gods of knowledge", אלי דעת is described:

> "Whenever the gods of knowledge enter by the portals of glory, and whenever the holy angels go out to their dominion, the portals of entrance and the gates of exit make known the glory of the King, blessing and praising all the spirits of God at (their) going out and at (their) coming in by the ga[t]es of holiness. There is none among them who omits a law; and never against the commands of the King do they set themselves."

To summarise, Fletcher-Louis (2002b:349) states that the twelfth song has deliberately excised any reference to the human image on the *merkabah*. However, the phrases "make known the glory of the King", and "the commands of the King", imply angelic and anthropomorphic concepts, and the angelic activity of Ezekiel 1 and 10 is clearly present, in a form that is remarkably close to the angelic activity described in the *Chaldean Oracles*. In 4Q 405 20 ii-21-22, the stream of fire and the *hashmal* have been recontextualised angelologically, and given an independent existence.

3.2.2.5 THIRTEENTH SABBATH SONG

4Q405 Frg. 23ii

This comes from the thirteenth and final Sabbath song. It again mentions "the beauty of the engravings of [they approach the King when they serve be[fore King, ...", thus confirming the angelological implications of the twelfth *Sabbath Song*.

Lines 7 - 11 are translated by Newsom (1998:362) as follows:

"In their wondrous stations are spirits (clothed with garments of) mingled colours, like woven work, engraved with figures of splendour. In the midst of the glorious appearance of scarlet are (garments) dyed with the fire of a most holy spirit, those who take their holy station before [[K]ing, spirits [brightly] dyed in the midst of the appearance of whiteness. And the likeness of this glorious spirit is like fine gold work, shedding[[lig]ht. And all their designs are brightly blended, an artistry like woven work. These are the chiefs of those wondrously arrayed for service,[the chiefs of the realm {realm} of the holy ones of the King of holiness in all the heights of the sanctuaries of His glorious kingdom".

The remarkable effect of transmutation into special effects that was mentioned earlier is also apparent here where the physical characteristics of the engravings "like woven work" are transmuted into "the chiefs of the realm of the holy ones of the King of holiness."

3.2.3 DISCUSSION

EZEKIEL I AND 10 AS PRECURSORS TO *SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE.*

Davila (2003:18) comments that the author of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* "ransacked" the visions in Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7 and possibly *I Enoch* 14-15,[86] and other biblical texts that describe the earthly Temple for details about the cosmic Temple in order to compose an angelic liturgy for human imitation in the earthly cult of the Sabbath sacrifice. He concludes that the writers drew on and "thoroughly homogenised" an earlier body of traditions about the cosmic Temple, but that they employed exegesis creatively for their own purposes. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* details appear to have been drawn from both Ezekiel 1 and 10, and from the additions to Daniel[87] in order to express an angelological interpretation. In spite of my conclusion in chapter 3 part 1 that all the angelological content in Ezekiel 10 is already present in Ezekiel 1, especially if Ez 1:14 is taken into account, because in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the term גלגלים is used

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[86] Whether Daniel 7 influenced *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* depends on priority, but as no date for *Songs of Sabath Sacrifice* is certain, this cannot be definitely established at this stage.

[87] Cf. the *Song of the Three Youths*, vv. 31-33: "Blessed are you who behold the depths from your seat upon the cherubim; ... Blessed are you on your royal throne; ... Blessed are you in the dome of heaven". However this addition may be much older than the Book of Daniel.

(4Q405 20 ii 10), the author *of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* must have referred to both Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 10. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* both the *ophanim* and the *galgalim* are animate, since they bless, along with the *cherubim. Hashmal,* with its clearly angelological connotation, is mentioned, but this word is not present in Ezekiel 10, possibly because the author of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* lived in a context where angelological activity was a major concern, and because he had the advantage of living closer in time to Ezekiel, he understood and clearly perceived the angelological content which was already there in Ezekiel 1.

Thus I differ with Newsom and Davidson (1992:251 n.6) who state that the אופנים were not already a class of angels in Ez 1:15-21 and Ez 10:6-17, but only became described as such in the *Parables of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 61.10; 71.7), and that the same is true of the גלגלים. Even in Newsom's later commentary, she seems to think that this is due to *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* exegesis,[88] whereas I maintain that the animatedness of the throne structure itself is already present, albeit under the surface, in Ezekiel 1, and explicit in Ezekiel 10. The issue thus becomes: what part of God's throne is made up of structures other than angelic spirits? My answer at this stage would be, none - even in Ezekiel 1 the throne of God consists only of angelic spirits. In this text, as already in Ezekiel 1 and 10, the living beings/*cherubim* and the *ophanim*/*galgali* are all fiery creatures which move out from the divine throne/council. My contention is that the understanding of the *ophanim* as angelic "spirits" in *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is already present in both Ezekiel 1 and 10, and that this aspect of the apperceptive mass of the author of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* becomes apparent upon close reading. Perhaps the author of *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* was more faithful to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Ezekiel 1 and 10 than is at present recognised.

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[88] In 4Q405 Frg. 20, line 21-22 the parallelism of *ophanim* and "holy angels" in line 9 confirms that the *ophanim* are actually angels, as was already indicated in Ezekiel 1 and 10.

3.2.4 CONCLUSION

The following two topics of Jewish angelology become clearer in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.*

3.2.4.1 ANGELIC AMBIGUITY

Newsom (1985:63) notes that there is a certain ambiguity in the term קדושים which could refer to the members of the Qumran community or to the angels. She expresses the idea that the "peculiar blessing of the priesthood" is that the priestly service is shared with the angels in the eschatological or heavenly temple. In addition, "the extended sense in which the life of the entire community could be considered as priestly is also related to the idea of communion with the angels". In his review of Davila's *Liturgical Works* published in 2000, Fletcher-Louis (2002a:399-402) picks up on the problem of ambiguity of angelic identity in noting that throughout Davila's book "there is a proclivity to see angels where others have only seen (glorious) humans or ambiguous references to humans or angels". He criticizes Davila for his understanding that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describe throughout the activity of the angels, not human worshippers. For instance, at 4Q400 1.16 (twelfth *Sabbath Song*) and at 4Q305 23 i.12, Davila (2000:103) understands "those who repent of sin" as angels, whereas the Enochic tradition with which Fletcher-Louis identifies the Qumran community, expressly rejected the acceptability of repentance by sinful angels (see chapter 4 part 1, the rebellious "hard of heart"). This is interesting because Fletcher-Louis' viewpoint may be inadvertently confirming García Martínez's and Boccacini's theories (respectively, the Gröningen hypothesis, 1994:liii; the Enochic/Essene hypothesis 1998:188), in which they propose that the origins of the Essene movement and the Qumran community are quite separate, and that the Qumran sectarians split off from the Essene movement and retreated to Qumran. Boccaccini identifies the Essene movement as Enochian in orientation, which would support Fletcher-Louis's attitude that "those who repent of sin" as at 4Q400 I 11b cannot be angels, thus humans are being referred to here.   However, Boccaccini clarifies that the mainstream Essenes were moderate and accepted the need for repentance because of the principle of human responsibility for sin as reflected in the later *Epistle of Enoch*,

as opposed to the very conservative Qumran sectarians who adhered to the doctrine of individual predestination as reflected in the *Book of Watchers* (Boccaccini 1998:188). Boccaccini (1998:186) supports Newsom (contra Fletcher-Louis 2002b:256) that in contradistinction to the Essenes, the Qumran sectarians had a dualistic world-view. Fletcher-Louis does not appear to take this complexity into account, and minimises the dualism at Qumran. His (Fletcher-Louis 2002b:253) focus of interest is whether the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* display a "theological anthropology which gave to the righteous an angelic or divine identity." The issue for Fletcher-Louis (2002b:264) seems to be that *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* represents a form of ritualised and communal heavenly ascent (2002b:392), rather than a temple tour based on Ezekiel 40-48, as Newsom sees it (although he does admit that the tour of the heavenly temple was well known at Qumran). When he (Fletcher-Louis 2002b:301) talks of "angelized and deified sectarians", this seems to be taking the liturgy too far, as indeed also when he suggests (2002b:300) that there are good grounds for thinking that the "transformed heavenly humanity" at Qumran would want to compare itself to the *cherubim*.[89] Fletcher-Louis (2002b:391-392) comes to the conclusion that Newsom's "dualistic conceptual paradigm" must be replaced with an understanding of the cult as a "microcosm of the universe within which the demarcation of sacred space 'on earth' creates an area within which the human worshippers can participate in the life in heaven". This, according to Fletcher-Louis (2002b:392) "takes the righteous up into the divine life and that of the angels". If this is seen as a temporary state, as taking place during the execution of the liturgy, it may be a reasonable conclusion, but does not bestow on the priests the status of *cherubim.* However, the similarity of the effect of the participation in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* stimulates the question of a connection here to *merkabah* mysticism. Collins (1997b:138) clearly sees a connection between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (especially *Songs* 9 and 13) as "the oldest Hebrew *Merkavah* texts and the subsequent development of *merkabah* mysticism as preserved in the later Hekhaloth texts".

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[89] In the context of Jewish angelology of the time period under discussion, the *cherubim* are a more specialised type of angel in terms of function as the four upholders of the throne. I find no evidence in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* for the notion that the users of the text (? Sectarians) identified themselves as *cherubim*. This notion is only expressed much later, as for instance reflected by John Bunyan in *The Pilgrims's Progress,* where he interprets 1 Thes. 4:17 as indicating that Christian will enter the "endless Kingdom" and "there shall be with *Seraphim* and *Cherubims*" (Christian in conversation with Pliable).

3.2.4.2 DEIFICATION

The key to reconciling the difference of opinion between Fletcher-Louis on the one hand and Davila and Newsom on the other, may lie in the key concept of "deification", which is an ambiguous thread traceable all the way from Egyptian kingship, is also perceptible in the apocryphal writings, and culminates in the concept of resurrection in Christianity. However, the concept of deification needs a nuanced definition based on terminology coined recently by scholars working on precedents to Christianity. In the Qumran context the essential ambiguity of Jewish angelology in relation to deification is a major issue, but can only be dealt with fully in the larger context of all the texts of this dissertation, and is discussed again in the final chapter. The angelological motifs which have emerged from this text, are discussed at the end of the chapter, and finally in chapter 8.

B. Structure of *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* set out according to the descriptions by Newsom (1985:16) and Davila (2000:84).

7
4Q403
4Q404
4Q405
The praise of angels
and of the animate
furnishings of the
celestial temple

6
4Q401-5
Praises and
blessings
recited by
seven chief
angelic
princes

8
4Q403-5
Praises and
blessings
of the
seven
secondary
princes

5
4Q401
4Q402

9
4Q405

Eschatological
conflict in
heaven

4
4Q401

10 Moves through the vestibules and
entry ways of the temple past the
living divinities carved there, to

11 rivers of fire. The curtain is
embroidery of living
beings, also praising

3
4Q401

2
4Q400
4Q401
Comparison
of human with
angelic
priesthood

12
Innermost sanctuary and throne room
Cherubim, ophanim, other angels
offering praise. Various gods and
divinities going out on divine mission
and returning

1
4Q400
4Q401
Heavenly angelic priesthood

13
Description of the high priestly
function of the chief angels who
administer celestial sacrifices

3.3 SECTION 2 B. 4Q *PSEUDO-EZEKIEL* 385a FRG. 6

3.3.1 DATE

This text was published 2001 in DJD XXX, by Devorah Dimant. The hand of this copy is dated to 50-25 BCE. According to Dimant (2001:13) it does not manifest any distinctive sectarian ideas or terminology. It appears to be based on Ezekiel 1, but its description of the *merkabah* vision is preceded by the theme of resurrection. According to Dimant (2001:36) the similarity of ideas in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* with Daniel and Isaiah favours a second century BCE background for the events and figures described in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. Antiochus IV, the Seleucid king who reigned from 175-164 BCE instigated the looting of the temple at Jerusalem in 169 BCE and instituted repressive measures, installing the cult of Zeus and settling foreigners in Jerusalem in 167/6 BCE. He may well be the "son of Belial" referred to in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. Antiochus IV installed Cleon as governor in Memphis in 168 BCE, so it is possible that the "wicked one" referred to in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is Cleon.[90] Dimant (2001:56) points out that the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* must have known about Antiochus IV's death in 164 BCE, so *Pseudo-Ezekiel* could not have been composed before that date.

3.3.2 BELIEF IN RESURRECTION

Although resurrection is not an issue for this dissertation, it forms the contextual background of this text, so it is discussed briefly in order to relate it to the historical time frame. Belief in resurrection was a widespread theme in Jewish texts from the second century BCE onwards. The similarity of ideas in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* with Dan 7:6 and 12:2 provides second century BCE witness to the exegesis of LXX Isa 26:19 as referring to resurrection.[91] There is no explicit formulation in any of the extant sectarian writings from Qumran on this issue. It is, however, clearly expressed in the non-sectarian 4Q 521 2ii. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is the only other explicit witness to belief in resurrection found at

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[90] Dimant (2001:57-58) notes that the Egyptian priesthood was hostile to the Greek foreigners and to the Jews because of the establishment in c.160 BCE of the Temple of Onias in Leontopolis, near Memphis.
[91] "Thy dead shall live, their bodies shall rise." This linking of two biblical texts considered to deal with the same issue was a frequent Second Temple exegetical technique (Dimant 2001:36). *Pseudo-Ezekiel* displays

Qumran (Dimant 2001:13).[92] Dimant understands resurrection in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as implying physical resurrection, and disagrees with Collins (1993a:34, 397) that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* presents the resurrection scene of Ezekiel 37 only as a metaphor of national restoration, as in the biblical model. She reasons (2001:34) that the author indicates that the resurrection was understood as a real event intended for the future, because the text adds a non-biblical benediction pronounced by the resurrected crowd immediately after their resurrection. In addition, Dimant points out that the LXX translation of Isa 26:19 shows that there was already such an understanding in antiquity.[93] However, Collins (1993a:392) points out that the metaphor of sleeping and awaking is also used in Jer 51:39, 57 and Job 14:12, but in each case the possibility of resurrection is denied. He suggests that Isa 26:19 should be taken metaphorically for the restoration of the nation, but affirms that the author of Daniel 12:1-4 "undoubtedly understood it in terms of individual resurrection". However, Daniel does not specify that the resurrected life is located on earth, and except for the "wise", Daniel does not specify the form of the resurrection. As in *I Enoch*, and in Isa 26:19, in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* resurrection is only for the righteous.

3.3.3 THE TEXTS

The relevant lines of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* 4Q 385 Frg. 6 are given below. [94]

המראה אשר ראה יחזק]אל   5

נגה מרכבה וארבע חיות חית[ן   ובלכתן לא יסבו]   6

אחור על שתים תלך החיה האחת ושתי רגל]יה   [7

[ע]ל[ ]ל[ ] ב]אח]ת היה נשמה ופניהם זה בעקר ז]ה ודמות]   8

הפ]נים אחד ארי אח]ד נשר ואחד עגל ואחד של אדם והית]ה יד]   9

אדם מחברת מגבי החיות ודבקה ב]כנפיהן [[והא]ופ]נ]ים]   10

אופן חובר אל אופן בלכתן ומשני עברי הא[ן]ופנים שבלי אש]   11

---

the type of exegesis concerning resurrection which underlies Daniel 12 and the Septuagint translation of Isaiah, especially Isa. 26:19 - both are products of the second century BCE (Dimant 2001:34, 42).

[92] Cf. Dimant (2001:32-36), cf. also Collins 1997b:113.

[93] Ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ , ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἴαμα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν ἀσεβῶν πεσεῖται. "The dead shall rise, and they that are in the tombs shall be raised, and they that are in the earth shall rejoice: for the dew (cf. Ps 110:3b/LXX Ps 109) from thee is healing to them; but the land of the ungodly shall perish."

[94] Dimant (2001:51) points out that Frg. 6 forms the oldest witness to post-biblical exegesis of this vision, but as the dating of *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is still uncertain, the latter may be the earlier text.

<div dir="rtl">

12   והיה בתוך גחלים חיות כגחלי אש]ן

13   והא]ופנים והחיות והאופנים ויהנ]י ע]ל]ן ראשם רקיע כעין

14   הקרח הנור]א וי]הי קול]ן מעל רקיע

</div>

Below, the meaning/content of each line is matched to similar content present in both Ezekiel 1 and 10. The differences, where there are no matches in either Ezekiel 1 or 10, are summarised at the end. Line 5 indicates that this is a third person description of Ezekiel's vision; not a first person description as in Ezekiel 1 and 10.

***Pseudo-Ezekiel* lines 6 - 7**

<div dir="rtl">

[95] נגה מרכבה וארבע חיות חית]   ובלכתן לא יסבו

</div>

a radiance of a chariot, and four living creatures; a living creature[and while walking they would not turn]

<div dir="rtl">

אחור על שתים תלך החיה האחת ושתי רגל]יה

</div>

backwards; upon two (legs) each living creature was walking,[96] and [its] two legs [ ]"

Ez 1:9, 12b,17b

<div dir="rtl">

לא־יסבו בלכתן

</div>

"not turning (m.) in their going" (f.)

Ez 10:11

"In their going, they went in any of their four directions without turning as they went, לא־יסבו בלכתן but in whatever direction the front wheel faced the others followed without turning as they went" לא־יסבו בלכתן.

Lines 6 and 7 represent the following important differences from Ezekiel 1 and 10:

a) The detail of walking on two legs may derive from the throne vision of Isa 6:2, where two of the seraphs' six wings are for covering their two feet (Dimant 2001:46). This is an interesting possibility because it implies that the four living creatures were identified in this text, and thus possibly at Qumran, with the seraphs. This possibility is strengthened

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[95] נגה appears at Ez 1:4b, 13b, 27b and 10:4b, where it describes a brightness round the great cloud, the appearance of the living creatures as of fire, and the appearance below the loins of the man above the throne, as of fire.

[96] Their legs were straight, i.e. not in the sitting position, and they were not four-legged animals. See chapter 3 Part 1, the paragraph on Ez 1:7.

by the association of fire in line 12 and possibly in line 11b, if it is correctly reconstructed (cf. discussion on the motif of "streams of fire" in chapter 8, where this reconstruction is queried).

b) The description "straight legs" is not present in Ezekiel 1 or 10, but implies the upright or standing position, cf. 2.1.1.

c) The term אחור "backwards" in line 7 is more specific than in Ezekiel 1 and 10, and helps to clarify the rabbinic problem of relating this phrase to a contradiction of Ezekiel 1:14 which states that the living beings move back and forth (see 3.1.2.1 on Ez 1:14).

d) Dimant (2001:45) notes that the term מרכבה (line 6) is absent from Ezekiel 1 and 10, but that by Ben Sirach's time[97] it is recognised as a technical term for Ezekiel's vision. It is used in *Sir* 49.8:

<div dir="rtl">

יחזקאל ראה מראה   ויגד זני מרכבה:
</div>

Ιεζεκιηλ ὃς εἶδεν ὅρασιν δόξης, ἣν ὑπέδειξεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἅρματος χερουβίν.

"It was Ezekiel who saw the glorious vision, which was shewed him upon the chariot of the *cherubim*".

Biblically it usually means an ordinary chariot, except in 1 Chr 28:18bα

<div dir="rtl">

ולתבנית המרכבה הכרבים זהב
</div>

"also his plan for the golden chariot of the *cherubim*".

The term מרכבה appears in the description of the vessels in the Temple of Solomon in I Kings 7:33. Dimant (2001:51) raises the question whether the author of Frg. 6 understood the *merkabah* vision of Ezekiel as taking place in a temple, either earthly or heavenly.

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 8a

<div dir="rtl">

[ע]ל[ ]ל[ ] ב[אח]ת היה נשמה ופניהם זה בעקר ז[ה
</div>

---

[97] *Sir.* 49.8 (B), written between 190-175 BCE, trans. into Greek 132 BCE (Ferguson 1993:418).

" [up]on[ ] in [on]e there was spirit and their faces were one beside the oth[er.]"

The term נשמה in line 8a which is also not present in Ezekiel 1 or 10, occurs once in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q401 3 1). נשמה in the current Mishnaic Hebrew meant "soul", but may also be understood in the usual biblical sense of "spirit", thus corresponding to the terms הרוח and רוח החיה at Ez 1:20 and 21 respectively (Dimant 2001:46). According to Dimant (2001:46) the use of עקר here as

זה בעקר ז[ה is unattested elsewhere, but in a derivative sense means "essential, main part", although she translates it here (on the recommendation of Qimron) as a preposition "near, beside".

Pseudo-Ezekiel **line 8b -9**

ודמות] הפנ]ים אחד ארי אח]ד נשר ואחד עגל ואחד של אדם

"and the appearance of the fac[es : one a lion, on]e an eagle, and one a calf (עגל) and one of a man,"

Ez 1:10
"As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man (אדם), and the face of a lion (ארי) on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox (שור) [98] on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle (נשר)" (KJV).

Ez 10:14
"Every one had four faces: the first face was the face of the cherub (הכרוב), and the second face was the face of a man (אדם), and the third the face of a lion (אריה), and the fourth the face of an eagle (נשר)" (KJV). (Not in OG).

The sequence of faces is different here: *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has lion, eagle, calf, man; Ezekiel 1 has man, lion, ox, eagle; Ezekiel 10 has cherub, man, lion, eagle. There is no mention in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* of the *cherubim* of Ezekiel 10:14. The absence of the identification of the living creatures with the *cherubim* in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is striking because in Ezekiel 10 it is central. Although the sequence of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is different to that of Ezekiel 1,

Pseudo-Ezekiel may be modelled on Ezekiel 1, not Ezekiel 10, because this verse is absent in the OG of Ezekiel 10, but the description of the faces is present in the OG of Ezekiel 1. This could imply that Ezekiel 10 was written significantly later than Ezekiel 1, or that MT Ez 10:14 may be a later gloss. The substitution of עגל, calf, for שׁור, ox, may be because of the negative association with the golden calf, especially in the light of the statement in Ezekiel 1:7 that the creatures' feet resembled those of a calf.[99] In Ps 106:20 the Golden Calf is referred to as an ox (שׁור) and some Tannaim read this as a reference to the ox of the *merkaba*h, which thus refers to the Israelites sin of idolatry at Mount Sinai.[100] Thus although in its description of the four living beings, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* agrees in essence with Ezekiel 1 and 10, and even though the "radiance of a *merkabah*" (line 6) is mentioned, there is no mention of the *cherubim*, and the sequence of the description is different (cf. lines 6, 10, 12 and 13). The implications of this are discussed below. To summarise, in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* the face of a man is mentioned last, and that of the lion first, whereas in Ezekiel 1 the man's face is mentioned first, and in Ezekiel 10 the cherub's face is mentioned first and the man's face second.

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 9b-10

והית]ה יד] אדם מחברת[101]מגבי החיות ודבקה ב[כ]נפיהן

"And there wa[s a hand of] a man joined from the backs of the living creatures and attached to[their wings]"

Ez 1:8

וידו אדם מתחת כנפיהם על ארבעת רבעיהם ופניהם וכנפיהם לארבעתם

"And they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings" (KJV).

---

[98] Holladay (1988:365): שׁור "fully grown male bovine, whether castrated or not. Often for cattle in general: bull, ox, steer".

[99] The Targum to Ezekiel avoids the calf's foot by describing the foot of the living creatures as "round" instead. According to Philo (*Spec. Leg.*, 4. 108-9) the parted hoof of the calf, in contrast to all creatures whose hooves are uniform or multiform and therefore unclean, symbolises the twofold way of life: "one branch leading to vice, the other to virtue and we must turn away from the one and never forsake the other".

[100] This has been used to explain why the face of the ox in Ez 1:10 was replaced by that of a cherub in Ez 10:14, "so that all traces of the sin of the Golden Calf would be obliterated from the vision shown to the prophet". In the description in Rev. 4:7 of the four living creatures the word μόσχος, calf, is used (Dimant 2001:47 n. 80).

[101] The word מגבי may here mean "back, upper part" as in Mishnaic Hebrew.

<u>Ez 10:8</u>

וירא לכרבים תבנית יד־אדם תחת כנפיהם:

"And there appeared in the cherubims the form of a man's hand under their wings" (KJV).

<u>Ez 10:21b</u>

דמות ידי אדם תחת כנפיהם:

"..and the likeness of the hands of a man was under their wings" (KJV).

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 10b-11a

[והא]ופ]ני]ם] אופן חובר אל אופן בלכתן

"and the whe[e]l[s,] wheel joined to wheel as they went,"

<u>Ez 1:16c</u>

ומראיהם ומעשיהם כאשר יהוה האופן בתוך האופן:

"And their appearance like and their work (LXX ἔργον) was as it were a wheel in the middle (LXX ἐν τροχῷ, "in a wheel") of the wheel" (KJV).

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 11b

ומשני עברי הא]ופנים שבלי אש]

"and from the two sides of the whe[els were streams of fire]"

This reconstruction by Dimant of "streams of fire" is questionable and discussed after the motifs have been compared across all the texts in chapter 8.

<u>Ez 10:10</u>

ומראיהם דמות אחד לארבעתם כאשר יהיה האופן בתוך האופן:

"And as for their appearances, they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel" (KJV).

The word "*ophanim*" is used throughout the text - there is no mention of "*galgal*". This may be a significant difference to the *Songs* (see 3.2.2.4 for 4Q405 20ii 21-22 line 10).

The description below in Ez 1:13 does not include the wheels at this stage, but by implication from the later description in verse 15b of the intimate association of the wheels with the living creatures, "Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel

upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces" (KJV), it may be understood that there may be sufficient parallelism here for this verse to apply.

<u>Ez 1:13</u>

<div dir="rtl">
ודמות החיות מראיהם כגחלי־אש בערות כמראה הלפדים
היא מתהלכת בין החיות ונגה לאש ומן־האש יוצא ברק:
</div>

"As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning" (KJV).

<u>Ez 10:6 b</u>
"Take fire from between the wheels from between the cherubims;" (KJV).

Both Ez 1:13 and Ez 10:6b could be describing angelic activity in general, but the action of pouring out coals is not present in Ezekiel 1 or *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 12 - 13a

<div dir="rtl">
והיה בתוך גחלים חיות כגחלי אש[ ] והאופנים והחיות והאופנים ויהנ]י
</div>

"and there were in the midst of the coals living creatures like coals of fire[ ] and the wheels and the living creatures and the wheels;"

This reference to "living creatures like coals of fire" may have been derived from Ez 1:13 and could be describing the angelic activity of Ez 1:13 (above).

Pseudo-Ezekiel line 13b-14a

<div dir="rtl">
ויהנ]יע]לן ראשם רקיע כעין הקרח הנור]א
</div>

"and there wa[s ov]er[their heads a firmament like the terrible] ice.

<u>Ez 1:22</u>
"And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above" (KJV).

There is no equivalent of "awful ice" in Ezekiel 10.

Pseudo-Ezekiel **line 14b**

ויןהי קולן מעל רקיע

"[And there w]as a sound[from above the firmament]

Ez 1:24
"And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings" (KJV).

Ez 10:5
"And the sound of the cherubims' wings was heard even to the outer court, as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh" (KJV).

There is no extant equivalent in Frg. 6 of the following reference to sapphire or a throne,

but this may be due to damage of the scroll.

Ez 1:26
"And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it" (KJV).

Ez 10:1
" Then I looked, and behold, in the firmament that was above the head of the cherubims there appeared over them as it were a sapphire stone, as the appearance of the likeness of a throne" (KJV).

3.3.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A. COMMON ELEMENTS between *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and Ezekiel 1 and 10:

6b) "and when they walk they do not turn" (Ez 1:9; 10:11).

10) "and each one had a man's hand" (Ez 1:8;10:8).

11) "one wheel attached to another wheel while walking " (Ez 1:11; 10:10).

11b) "and from the two sides of the wheels streams of fire came out" (Ez 1:13; 10:6).[102]

---

[102] Neither Ezekiel 1 or 10 mention the two sides of the wheels.

12) "and there were <u>in the midst of the coals living creatures like coals of fire</u>   [like torches] (Ez 1:4c, 5; 10:7a).

Except for line 14, from line 8b onwards, everything in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is to be found in both Ezekiel 1 and 10, although shorter, with several details and repetitions either not having existed originally or later omitted. However, all the motifs in Ezekiel 10 up to here and from here on are perceptible in Ezekiel 1, therefore they could have been derived solely from Ezekiel 1. Line 14 reads "and there was a sound on top of the vault". Here Ezekiel 1:25,28 can be matched, but there is no corresponding allusion in Ezekiel 10, so this is an important difference between the correlation of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and Ezekiel 1, and the correlation between *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and Ezekiel 10. It seems to confirm that the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* drew on Ezekiel 1 rather than Ezekiel 10. Only lines 7-8a are not represented in either Ezekiel 1 or 10, and this is discussed below.

B. IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES

1) Line 7 [אחור על שתים תלך החיה האחת ושתי רגל]יה reads "backwards; upon two (legs) each living creature was walking, and its] two legs [ ]". The walking of each living being on two legs is not present in Ezekiel 1 or 10.

2) Line 8a continues: [ע][ל] [ ] ב]אח[ת היה נשמה ופניהם זה בעקר ודמות ז]ה . "[up]on[ ] in [on]e there was spirit and their faces were one beside the oth[er."

3) Line 6 has "a radiance of a chariot ", נגה מרכבה, but the term מרכבה in this context is not present in either Ezekiel 1 or 10.

4) Line 8b-9 lists the face of a lion first, and man last. It has the face of a calf, עגל instead of that of an ox/male bovine, שור as in Ezekiel 1.

5) The sequence of the description in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is different to that in Ezekiel 1 or 10. There is no mention of the throne in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, but this may be due to damage.

6) It is striking that in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* there is no mention of *galgal* or *hashmal* or of the *cherubim* (with which the living beings are identified in Ez 10:15). All three these motifs have angelological implications which seem to be disguised when they appear in Ezekiel 1 and 10. This suggests that the author was conservative and as in rabbinic Judaism

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(Bowker 1969:38) attempted to suppress aspects that contained angelological or "magical" connotations. What is particularly interesting is that whereas *Pseudo-Ezekiel* mentions only the living creatures and not the *cherubim*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifcice* mentions the *cherubim* but not the living creatures. Yet Dimant (2001:51) deduces that they share an underlying exegetical tradition because both texts share other elements of theme and vocabulary. However, they seem to me to be strikingly different in orientation. Interestingly, verses 13 to 21 of Ezekiel 1 are not alluded to in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, nor are verses 11-20 of Ezekiel 10. With two exceptions,[103] only the content of Ez 1:4-12 and possibly Ez 10:4-10 (which may have been derived from the former) is mentioned.

3.3.5 DISCUSSION

Common elements	Ez 1	Ez 10	*Ps-Ez*
do not turn	9	11	6b
faces: lion, eagle, man, calf/cherub	10[104]	14 [105]	8b-9a
each one had a man's hand	8	8	10
one wheel attached to another wheel	11	10	11
from the wheels streams of fire came out	13	6	11b[106]
living beings in the middle of the embers like embers/torches	5	7	12
sound on top of the vault	25,28	13[107]	14
hashmal	4, 27	-	-
galgal	-	2.13	-

Summary of Differences

A. Ezekiel 1 and 10.
Ezekiel 1 has no *galgal*, no *cherubim*; Ezekiel 10, no *hashmal*.

B. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* compared to Ezekiel 1:
Pseudo-Ezekiel has no *hashmal*, no throne (the latter may be due to damage).

C. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* compared to Ezekiel 10:
Pseudo-Ezekiel has no *galgal*, no *cherubim* (like Ezekiel 1).

D. *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* contains all the significant motifs listed above,

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[103] Verse 22 of Ezekiel 1, which describes the firmament with the throne above it is referred to in lines 13-14 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as "a vault like awful ice." Ez 1:24 may be the source of the description of the sound above the vault in line 14 of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*.
[104] man, lion, ox, eagle.
[105] cherub, man, lion, eagle.
[106] This is an incorrect reconstruction, and is discussed in detail in chapter 8.
[107] "O whirling wheels."

so must have drawn from both Ezekiel 1 and 10.

The possibility thus arises that Ez 1:4-12 and Ez 1:22-24 may have been the only source used by the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and that similarities with Ez 10:4-10 are because Ez 10:4-10 is dependent on Ezekiel 1. Dimant (2001:50) notes that the author *of Pseudo-Ezekiel* must have been aware of Ezekiel 10 because the biblical manuscripts of Ezekiel found at Qumran include both Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 10. This is assuming that the text was written at Qumran whereas Dimant (2001:13) has noted that it does not display any distinctive sectarian ideas or terminology. I submit that all the phrases which could possibly be derived from Ezekiel 10 were already present in Ezekiel 1, therefore, nothing in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* was necessarily derived from Ezekiel 10; everything in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* that is similar to Ezekiel 10 could have been derived solely from Ezekiel 1. In spite of this, in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* there is no mention of *hashmal*, which is prominent in Ezekiel 1, but also absent in Ezekiel 10. The nearest association with the brightness of *hashmal* is the phrase "the radiance נגה of the *merkabah*" (line 6).

CHART C 1. DIFFERENCES IN SIGNIFICANT MOTIFS IN THE FOLLOWING 4 TEXTS

Common elements	Ez 1	Ez 10	*Ps-Ez*	*Songs Sabb. S*
SUN/FIRE (אשׁ)	4, 13, 27	2, 6	12, 13a	405Frg.20.20-22.9
Streams of Fire from the Wheels	13*	2, 6*	11b†	403Frg.1ii 6-9 405Frg. 5 ii,iii
THRONE (pl.)	26	1	-	403Frg.1ii,l.15 405Frg.20ii .2
"DO NOT TURN"	9, 12, 17	11, 16	6b	405Frg.25.5
OPHANIM	15-21	2, 6, 9-13 16, 17, 19	10,11	403Frg.1ii.15 405Frg.20ii.3
GALGAL	⁻	2, 13	-	405Frg.20 10
CHERUBIM	-	2-9 14-22	-	405Frg. 20 5 405Frg. 20 3
HASHMAL	4, 27	-	-	405Frg. 20 10

* Appearance in Ez 10:6 by implication only. Not directly evident, but could possibly have been the source of an exegetic development towards this specific motif in I *Enoch Book of Watchers*, which according to current dating, is the earliest witness to this motif.

† Incorrect reconstruction by Dimant (2001:43).

3.3.6 CONCLUSION

The angelological content of Ezekiel 1 and 10 in connection with the *ophanim* and *cherubim* is not described directly in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. Thus it is possible that the angelic associations, possibly perceived as having "magical connotations", discernable in Ezekiel 10, were not acceptable to the conservative Qumran author *of Pseudo-Ezekiel*. This radical contrast to *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is reconsidered in the final chapter.

A transitional development in Jewish angelology is clearly to be seen in the difference of aspects of these two texts from Qumran which are closely related to motifs in Ezekiel 1 and 10. The dating of the texts from Qumran is problematic as neither of them display a specifically sectarian terminology or style so that it must be assumed that they were possibly not written at Qumran. The copies at Qumran are dated according to their hand: *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* to c. 50 BCE, and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* to 50-25 BCE. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* displays a fully developed Jewish angelology with the emphasis on the uniting of mortal and angelic praise at the throne of God in a temple. The setting is ambiguous in that it seems that the temple or throne of God is in heaven, but the praise singing is participated in by the sectarians, together with the complete range of angelic beings. Thus here, especially in the context of plural thrones, the aspect of deification or "angelification" becomes a crucial issue.[108] In contrast, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* may have been written by a conservative author who wanted to avoid the blatant angelological content of Ezekiel 10, as it makes no reference to motifs from Ezekiel 10 which have angelic associations (possibly perceived as "magical" connotations). It could have been based on Ezekiel 1 alone, but interestingly, the motif of *hashmal* from Ezekiel 1, which also has

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[108] This problem is discussed in chapter 7. Alexander (2006:vii) has argued that "this Second Temple Jewish mysticism belongs also to what Bernard McGinn has called 'the Jewish Matrix' of Christian mysticism".

latent angelological connotations, is also excluded, and this serves to confirm the conservative approach of the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. As discussed in Part 2A, Frg. 20 li. 21 and 22 4Q405, the parallelism of *ophanim* and "holy angels" in line 9, confirms that the *ophanim* are actually regarded as angels, as was already indicated in Ezekiel 1 and 10. The implication is that this awareness was in circulation at the time that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* was written, but rejected by the author. *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is concerned with a further development of the concept of deification, i.e. resurrection, possibly even in a physical sense. This conforms to current scholarly opinion that the concept of resurrection was a late development, and may indicate that the possible relatively later date is correct, in comparison with an earlier date for *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

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CHAPTER 4

JUDAIC/JEWISH TEXTS

FROM ca. 300 TO ca. 150 BCE

4.1 SECTION 1. *1 ENOCH, THE BOOK OF WATCHERS*

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION AND DATE

Having looked closely at Ezekiel 1 and 10, and at the evidence of angelological exegesis of these texts found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, we step back in time to look at other indications of Jewish beliefs in angels found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, some dated as early as the fourth century BCE, therefore composed long before Qumran was settled.

The angelological content of Ezekiel 1 and 10 clearly had cosmological connotations, especially discernable in the imagery of the four enormous wheels named *ophanim* and *galgali*. Cosmology also plays a part in the *Book of Watchers*, a seminal Jewish angelological treatise. Philip Alexander (2003:4) notes that Jewish Wisdom writings of the fifth century BCE "reflect a lively debate about the physical world", and suggests that this debate then spread from the east to become a generalised "search for the Logos of the physical world" in the Ancient Near East. He draws attention to the powerful effect that the ancient mythic associations with the impressive Mount Hermon environment must have had on the inhabitants of the area. Nickelsburg (2001:4, 240) points out that the mythic sources of Israelite religion have largely been lost in the Hebrew Bible, but they underlie the Enochic traditions, the social settings in which they functioned, and the religious and intellectual traditions that its authors engendered in Israel.

I Enoch holds a nodal position in the development of Jewish angelology. For instance, in consideration of the factor of apperceptive mass, the four archangels Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel mentioned in *I Enoch* 1:9 could have been the transmission channel whereby the four living creatures from Ezekiel 1 appear on the four sides of the throne in

Rev 4:6-8. The *Apocryphon of John* also features four powers or lights close to the highest deity. In *I Enoch* 20 the three archangels Uriel, Rueuel and Remiel are added to the four already named, to make seven, and Rev 8:2-4 mentions seven "angels" before God's throne.[1] The seven "holy ones" also occur in the context of God's throne in *Tobit* (*Tob* 3.16-17; 12.11-15), and Revelation describes "the seven spirits who are before his throne" (1:4; 4:5), who correspond to these seven interceding angels in *Tobit*.[2] *I Enoch*'s angelological complexity, for instance in the destruction of the chief demon, is also traceable via texts from Qumran to the mythic confrontation with the demonic beast in Dan 7:11 and the combat of Michael with evil in Rev 12:7-12 (Nickelsburg 2001:210).

The book of *I Enoch* was composed originally in Aramaic, in 5 sections with dates ranging between the 4th century BCE to the turn of the Common Era, but the whole collection has been preserved only in a fifth to sixth century CE Ethiopic translation (Nickelsburg 2001:1). The texts of *1 Enoch* are currently dated on the basis of copies from Qumran, as follows:

> *Astronomical Book* (chapters 72-82) 4Q208-11 Ar. Written before 200 BCE (VanderKam 2001:131).

> *Book of Watchers* (chapters 1-36) 4Q 201-202, 4Q 204-206, 4Q Enoch a Ar. Written before 200 -150 BCE (VanderKam 2001:131).[3]

> *Epistle of Enoch* (chapters 91-108). Second c. BCE. (Nickelsburg 2001:8).

> *Book of Dreams* (chapters 83-90. Second c. BCE. (Nickelsburg 2001:8).[4]

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[1] Cf. Philo's revealing comments on the number 3 + 4 in relation to 7 (chapter 5).

[2] According to Nickelsburg (1988:66) *Tobit* could be contemporary with the *Epistle of Enoch* (Second c.BCE.

[3] In his commentary (2001:7, 169-71) Nickelsburg notes that the *Book of Watchers* as a whole may have been completed before the middle of the third century BCE, but more recently he pushes this date backwards to ca.315 BCE (2003:12).

[4] The *Book of Parables* (*Similitudes of Enoch*, chapters 37-71) is the only one of the five books of *I Enoch* not found at Qumran, but it may only have been written during the late first century BCE (Nickelsburg 2001:7). Although it may have been written too late for Qumran, Nicklesburg (1991:186) considers the possibility that the particular form of messianism of the *Book of Parables* would not have been acceptable to the Qumranites. It was a prototype for New Testament speculation about the Son of Man (Nickelsburg 2001:7).

4.1.2 THE VERSIONS

ETHIOPIAN

The only extant ancient text of *I Enoch* that is complete is the fifth- to sixth-century CE Ethiopian translation of a Greek translation of the Aramaic original, translated into English by Knibb in 1978. Knibb's English translation is referred to for the sake of continuity of text, but it must be kept in mind that "a period of roughly one thousand years separates the presumed date of the translation of *Enoch* into Ethiopic (fourth to sixth centuries) and the date of our oldest Ethiopic copies of *Enoch* (the fifteenth century)" (Knibb:1978:27).

GREEK

The Greek Version of the *Book of Enoch* derives primarily from four sources: fragments in Syncellus (Gs); the Akhim manuscript (Ga, Codex *Panopolitanus*) which is thought to date from the fifth or sixth century CE, and has numerous omissions but also some additions; Codex *Vaticanus* Gr. 1809; and the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus (Knibb 1978:15). Knibb uses the *Ryl* manuscript in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester as the base-text for his edition, and regards it as "a fine representative of what eventually emerged as the standard text of *Enoch*". It is an eighteenth century copy, corrected and with few mistakes (Knibb 1978:25).

ARAMAIC

The Aramaic fragments from Qumran published by Milik in 1976 are also consulted, but they only cover 50% of the *Book of Watchers* (Nickelsburg 2001:11). These agree in general terms with the Greek and Ethiopic texts (Knibb 1978:13), but there are cases where the Aramaic agrees with the Greek against the Ethiopic, and far fewer cases where the Aramaic agrees with the Ethiopic against the Greek (Knibb 1978:43). Generally therefore this confirms that the Greek text has been transmitted in a better state than the Ethiopic. Knibb (1978:46) thinks that "there is good evidence available for the view that

the Ethiopic translators had access to an Aramaic text of *Enoch*", but it is very difficult to establish to what extent they made use of it.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The most recent English translation is by Nicklesburg (2001). It is a synopsis of all the original texts and translations of these chapters, and supplies all the significant variant readings in the Ethiopic and Greek manuscripts, and the Aramaic fragments. Nickelsburg's translation preserves the original word order, thus retaining the way in which nouns are used, for instance he renders "the watcher and holy ones", rather than "the holy watchers", and "the throne of your glory" rather than "your glorious throne", thereby clarifying the differences between the versions. Where Nickelsburg supplies the original Greek or Aramaic words or phrases in his commentary these are quoted if relevant. His point of departure is that one must "risk interpreting what is arguably the earliest recoverable form of the text in any passage" (2001:18), whilst taking the following factors into account:

1)   Even though chronologically close, the Aramaic fragments from Qumran do not provide a text critical *Vorlage* for the Greek and Ethiopic versions.

2)   The Greek remnant also does not provide the *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic version. In the *Book of Watchers*, the texts of the Akhmin (Panopolis) mss Ea and Gs offer variant readings, and sometimes the extant Greek is inferior to the Greek *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic.

3)   The Ethiopic tradition has undergone a long process of corruption, correction and recension, so there is frequently a choice between Ms variants.

Nicklesburg evaluates the variants keeping the following limitations in mind: the Ethiopic manuscripts are weakened by too much contamination amongst them, and the Aramaic fragments are of mixed value in constructing a critical text. The upshot is that Nickelsburg's sources are a mixture of practically everything available, selecting the readings that make the most sense to him after weighing a variety of considerations. He prefers the reading whose presence in the text is more difficult to explain, but favours a contextual interpretation. Emendation is a last resort (Nickelsburg 2001:20). Because of

the complexity described above, for the original Greek versions I depend entirely on Nickelsburg's commentary. The 1994 English translation by García Martínez is also compared. In the discussion below all four the English translations are given where available. The four main authors of the translations are indicated in the following way: Knibb, K; Nickelsburg, N; Garciá Martínez, GM; Milik, M.

4.1.3 SEMINAL CONCEPTS IN THE *BOOK OF WATCHERS*

4.1.3.1 THE SONS OF GOD AND THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN: THE THEME OF OPPOSITES

In Gen 6:1-4 the narrative of the intermarriage of the Sons of God and the daughters of men is told in a neutral way; the story of Adam and Eve still applies as the explanation for the presence of evil on earth. The terminology "sons of God" in Gen 6:1-4 has been interpreted in many ways[5] but in late Judaism there was a great deal of interest in *I Enoch*, and it was common to interpret the "sons of God" as angels,[6] especially as the contrast between the "sons of *God*" and "daughters of *men*" in Gen 6:2 suggests that the sons of God are to be distinguished from human beings. All the versions of *I Enoch* state that it was angels who were mating with the "daughters of men".[7] The narrative of the fallen angels is couched in terms of opposites, a theme which pervades the whole of *1 Enoch*. The cosmological content is also portrayed in terms of opposites; heaven and earth. This concept of the pairing of the opposites of earth and heaven, is a vital aspect of this apocalyptic text of *1 Enoch*, which is basically about mediation between God and mankind. The cosmological opposites work together in harmony to express and maintain

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[5] See the discussion on terminology for angels in 2.2.1.

[6] By c.140 CE Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai had rejected the interpretation of sons of God as angels, on three counts: a) by then the term could be applied to any particularly righteous man, b) the Enochian version of Gen 6:1-4 was blasphemous because the angels were holy and not capable of falling (cf. Mat 22:30-32), and c) angels were by that time understood as spirits, or composed of fire or air, therefore not capable of procreating (cf. b.*Hag*.16a) (Alexander 1972-3:66).

[7] The idea of the pairing of gods and humans is common in the narrative's historical and cultural context, for instance a Hittite myth speaks of the weather god as having a son by a human woman (Beyerlin 1978:158). Odoyoye (1984:23) reports that in African mythologies of creation through birth, the male partner comes from the sky (rain from the sky = semen), while the female partner comes from the earth (mother earth = womb); hence sons of the gods (in heaven) and daughters of men (on earth). In Hesiod's

the normal laws of nature, but the sexual mingling of angels and women is seen as a breach of God's natural law, and this ultimately is the source of evil on earth according to the *Book of Watchers*.

The breach of God's law by angels is conveyed through complex terminology. The terminology for angels in *1 Enoch* is different in the different versions, and differs from that in Genesis 6:1-4. In the *Book of Watchers* chapters 1-36 and *Book of Dreams*, (chapters 83-108, dated to the second century BCE), the normal designation of the heavenly beings is "angels" (Gk. ἄγγελοι) and sometimes "angels of (or 'in') heaven", whereas MT Genesis mentions only "the sons of God" (Nickelsburg 2001:140).[8] *I Enoch* 1.2b illustrates the connections and complexities of terminology.

> K. ... which the <u>angels</u> showed to me. And I heard everything from them.

> N.   ומן מלי[עירין] וקדישין כלה[שמעת אנה

> **Καὶ** <ἀπὸ> λόγων ἁγίων <ἀγγέλων> **ἤκουσα** ἐγώ (Ga).
> From the words of the <u>watchers</u>[9] <u>and holy ones</u> I heard everything.[10]

> GM 4 QEnoch a ar: and I heard] all the words of <u>the Wat[chers] and of the Holy Ones</u>

> M. 4 QEnoch a ar: and from the words of [<u>the Watchers] and the holy ones</u> [I heard] it all;

The double designation of Watchers and Holy Ones in 4QEnoch a ar 1.2b also appears in the Aramaic of *I Enoch* at 22:6 לעירא וקדישא where the Greek and Ethiopian versions

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Theogony the Titans and the giants are the sons of Gaia and Ouranos, the fruit of two opposite partners associated with earth and heaven respectively (Westermann 1987:380).

[8] In MT Gen 5:22-24 it is said that Enoch walked with האלהם i.e. "the angels" but that אלהים took him - no ה prefix. Therefore the term in Gen 6:2 בני־האלהים implies the "sons of the angels" (VanderKam 2001:134). VanderKam (2001:141) apparently accepts this implication because he assumes that Enoch was with the angels twice - once for 300 years during his 365 year life, (which would imply on earth not in heaven) and once after, when he intercedes before God in heaven for the sinful angels. It is not clear whether this was while he was living on earth as well.

[9] Nickelsburg reconstructs ἀγγέλων but translates it as "watchers".

[10] Nickelsburg's translation is based on a reconstruction of the Aramaic 4Q Enoch a I 13.

read "angel".[11] Nowhere do the Qumran fragments of *I Enoch* attest the Aramaic מלאכא

and the Greek and Ethiopian never use "angel" to designate the rebel heavenly beings. In

version Gs, as the special designation for the rebel angels, the Greek ἐγρήγοροι,

"watchers", is used throughout *I Enoch* 6-13 (*I Enoch* 6:2; 10:7). Therefore it seems that

the Greek translators adopted "watchers" as the designation for the rebels, to distinguish

them from the "angels". However, Nickelsburg (2001:140) takes the Aramaic root עור,

to be awake, watchful, as a neutral meaning, thus retaining the traditional rendering

"watchers" according to the dictionary definition of "one that sits up or continues awake

at night".[12] It is thus a reasonable conclusion that the Aramaic consistently used the

designation "watchers and holy ones" for the unfallen heavenly beings, and used

"watchers of heaven" as a neutral term that designated both the good and evil beings of

those who belonged to God, or were of "heavenly provenance". The Hebrew root עור

reflects the original neutral tone of Gen 6:1-4, whereas the Aramaic version of *1 Enoch*

6:2 witnesses to an interpretation through the addition of "and desired them" because of

its use of "watchers and holy ones" as a term for the unfallen heavenly beings. The Greek

version went one step further and adopted ἐγρήγοροι as the special designation for the

rebel angels. This then may well be the underlying sense of *I Enoch* 6:2 "And the

Watchers (ἐγρήγοροι), the sons of heaven,[13] saw[14] them ('the beautiful and comely

daughters of the sons of men') and desired them".

The theme of opposites continues in *I Enoch* 2.1-5.3, where the addressee is admonished

to contemplate a list of natural phenomena which are an expression of the complementary

role of heaven and earth. "Lists of revealed things" in apocalyptic literature were first

described by Stone in 1976:414-452. He had wondered what the function of these

speculative lists might be - what central concerns motivate these apocalyptic authors. He

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[11] The double designation of "Watchers and Holy Ones" used in *Book of Watchers*, also occurs at MT Dan 4:10, 20: a "Watcher and Holy One" figures in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. In MT Dan 8:13 Daniel hears two "holy ones" speaking (no "watcher").

[12] This conforms to the belief that the watchers of heaven are on twenty-four hour duty attending God.

[13] Gs reads οἱ ἐγρήγοροι "watchers" against οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ of Ga and Eth. Nickelsburg (2001:176) notes that using "heaven" for "God" is also a typical circumlocution in rabbinic passages. In *I Enoch* 6.1-2 and in chapters 12-16 the "sons of God" are usually identified as heavenly beings.

[14] "Saw" reflects Gen 6:2 and is doubtless original (Nickelsburg 2001:174).

noted that these lists "always stand at the centre of the revelatory experience and that they are concerned with the possibility of knowledge of the way to God". This understanding conforms to Rowland's (1994:505) recognition of the mystical element in apocalypticism, which entails a view from a different perspective, a kind of overview on two levels, the earthly and the heavenly. Nickelsburg (2001:4) associates these observations of cosmic phenomena with the manner in which the natural environment of Mount Hermon impinged on the consciousness of the surrounding cultures. In the *Book of Watchers* the list of things to contemplate is structured in terms of opposites in nature which conveys a sense of all-encompassing totality, because they work together in a synchronized way: heaven/earth; summer/winter; trees/sun; seas/river.

I Enoch 18.1-9 lists things revealed to Enoch in heaven. At 5b the list contains the opposites of heaven and earth, height and depth: "I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the ends of the earth the firmament of heaven above". The extreme opposites of the mountain top of precious stones whose "summit reached heaven" (17.2) is juxtaposed with the pits of punishment in 17.7, and again in 18.6-11 the author juxtaposes God's throne and the pits of punishment. In 18.8 Enoch sees the middle mountain of precious stones in the south reaching to heaven "like the throne of the Lord, of stibium, and the top of the throne (was) of sapphire"[15] but he also sees "a deep chasm among immeasurable pillars of heavenly fire", and continues in *I Enoch* 18.8 – 12:

> [...the top] of the throne was [of sapphire. I saw a burning fire; beyond those mountains there is a place on the other side of the great earth,] and there [the heavens e]nd. [Then I was shown a great abyss between pillars of heavenly fire and I saw] in it pillars [of fire which go down to the bottom: its height and its depth were immeasurable. And beyond] this a[byss ...].

> (4Q204 Col. VIII) trans. García Martínez (1994:252).

This is where the angels "who mingled with the women" stand. In 19.1, 2 Uriel explains to Enoch that their spirits "bring destruction on men and lead them astray until the day of the great judgement when they will be judged with finality, And the wives of the

transgressing angels (τῶν παραβαύτων ἀγγέλων) will become sirens" (εἰς σειρῆνας) (Nickelsburg 2001:277). See Appendix 4 for the connection of ostriches with σειρῆνας in certain other texts, for example LXX Job 30:29, where נעמא has been translated as "sirens" rather than "ostriches".

From the outset the *Book of Watchers* states in embryo the two norms which foreshadow all that is to follow: a) the opposites of heaven and earth "do not transgress their own appointed order" and b) the seasonal phenomena of nature which "all carry out God's word". The passage quoted below was not included in Stone's original references to lists of revealed things in *1 Enoch*[16] yet Nickelsburg's English translation clearly lists revealed cosmological phenomena – the "luminaries of heaven" and the "earth".

I Enoch 2.1-5.3

> K. ... and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works ... He who lives for ever made all these things for you; ...and all his works serve him and do not change, but as God has decreed, so everything is done.
>
> N. Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order. 2. Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that come to pass on it from the beginning until the consummation, that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God are manifest to you. 5.1 ... Contemplate all these works and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works. 5.2. And his works come to pass from year to year, and they all carry out their works for him, and their works do not alter, but they all carry out his word. GM 1[they appear in their constellations] and they do not overstep his command. Notice the earth and scrutinise his works 2 [from the first to the] last, how none alter and everything is obvious to you. ... Exalt and contemplate all these works 11 [and realise that God, who lives [for eternity, has made all these works. Year 12 [after year his works do not alter, instead] they all carry out his word.
>
> M. ... and in their constellations they appear] and do not transgress their appointed order. Observe ye the earth and consider its works, 2 from the first to the last, that

nothing at all changes, and everything is visible to you ... [Praise ye] and consider all these works, [and understand that God who lives] for ever and ever, created all these things. Year [in year out they do not change their works but] they all do His Word.[17]

The seminal concept here is that in turn all these things perform their "deeds" at God's command; thus the created sphere is itself an instrument of ongoing creation (Nickelsburg 2001:157). This establishes the norm that the author is propounding, i.e. do not rebel against the natural order that God created, and this natural order involves the synchronised working together of opposites in nature. Thus the stage is set for the drama to follow, in which intermarriage between heavenly and earthly beings clearly oversteps the limits of God's natural law.[18]

4.1.3.2 THE REBELLION OF THE WATCHERS

The passage quoted above serves to prepare for the narrative of the "fallen angels" in chapters 6 to 11. The theme of opposites intensifies now, in that heavenly beings not only transgress the natural law of God by descending to earth, but procreate children of earthly women. In the retelling of the tradition of angels mating with human women *1 Enoch* 6.2 adds the extra clause "and desired them". By adding "and desired them" the *Book of Watchers* makes it unequivocally clear that in this context the phrase implies intermarriage between celestial beings and "the daughters of men" and that this is a sin. This mixture of heaven and earth causes the natural order of things to be destroyed. The heavenly beings begin to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children.

I Enoch 6.1-2:

> N: And when the sons of men had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. And the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) them. And they said to one another, "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget for ourselves children.

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[17] At 5.2 Aramaic has only "they all do his word", כ]להן עבדין ממרה (K), and Knibb (1978:65) suggests that the text of G *Pan* i.e. G a, has been expanded here.

[18] The warning against rebellion is reminiscent of an Egyptian instruction by a Pharaoh to his son: "Refrain from rebelling, for one cannot know what will happen, what god does when he punishes" (Loprieno 2003:43).

The addition of ἐπιθυμεῖν (not in Gen 6:1-4) seems to have the perjorative meaning "to lust after" and thereby introduces the motif of sin (Nickelsburg 2001:176). This is confirmed in the next verse by Shemihazah, who says "I fear that you (the watchers) will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin."

The consequence of the deed is described in *I Enoch* 7.2:

> N: And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants. And the giants begat Nephilim[19] and to the Nephilim were born +Elioud+.[20]

The names of the angels are given an important place in the *Book of Watchers*, and are clearly related to their various actions and functions. According to Nickelsburg's translation of *I Enoch* 8.3, the leader of the Watchers, Shemihazah (שמיחזה), "my name has seen",[21] taught spells and the cutting of roots, and the following angel mentioned at 6.7, Arteqoph, according to 8.3, "taught all manner (Ga and E: παντοίους) of the signs of the earth" (Nickelsburg 2001:189). Of the nineteen names that are legible, sixteen are compounds with אל, and thirteen of these are linked in their first element with astronomical, meteorological and geographical phenomena (Nickelsburg 2001:178, citing Milik, Knibb and Black). The two remaining, Daniel and Asael, indicate functions of God: judge and creator. In *I Enoch* 10.1-12 four different functions of angels are listed: Sariel is sent to warn Noah; Raphael is sent to bind Asael, and to heal the earth, Michael is instructed by the Most High to bind Shemihazah and all the spirits of the halfbreeds because they have wronged men,[22] but Gabriel is given the subtle (deceitful?), tricky task

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[19] Also mentioned at Numbers 13:33. The origins and connotations of *nephilim* as a term for giants are obscure (Westerman 1987:378). An identification of "giants" (הגברים) with Nephilim (נפלים) is already present in the LXX Gen 6:1-4 which translates both nouns with οἱ γίγαντες. Westerman (1987:378-79) suggests that these two groups are most likely to be identified with one another in the present state of the Genesis text. Nickelsburg (2001:185) suggests that the author of *Book of Watchers* understood the three terms in Genesis הנפלים, הגברים, אנשי השם as designations for three successive generations of giants.

[20] ἐλιουδ is corrupt (Nickelsburg 2001:183).

[21] Nickelsburg (2001:179) points out that the juxtaposition of the name ארעתקף (translated by Milik as "the earth is power") with Shemihazah indicates a heaven/earth pairing of opposites, and suggests that this may have come about through play with the consonants of שמיחזה because of "heaven" as a circumlocution for God. Considering the number of word plays in the Aramaic text of *I Enoch*, Nickelsburg (2001:179), suggests that the author played with the consonants of שמיחזה to suggest "Heaven has seen", instead of "my name has seen", thus conforming to the tendency in this text to pair opposites.

[22] They will eventually be destroyed (*I Enoch* 10.14, Knibb 1978:90).

(not unlike that of the "spirit" in 1 Kings 22:18-23) to send the "bastards/half-breeds/sons of miscegenation" against one another in a war of destruction.

At *I Enoch* 9.1 Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel look from heaven and see the godlessness and violence on earth and report to the "Lord of the Ages": "You are the God of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings and God of the Ages. And the throne of your glory (exists) for every generation of the generations that are from eternity" (*1 Enoch* 9.4). In *I Enoch* 10.4 through 10.16 the "Lord of the Ages" instructs the four named archangels (Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Suriel), by various means, to "destroy all perversity from the face of the earth" (*1 Enoch* 10.16); and then "truth and peace will be united together for all the days of eternity and for all the generations of eternity" (*I Enoch* 11.2, Knibb 1978:92). Following Syncellus, Nickelsburg interprets this group of four named angels as archangels. This complement of four, and later seven archangels or "holy ones", appears first in *I Enoch* 9-10 and then becomes "something of a staple in Jewish and Christian literature" (Nickelsburg 2001:207). A rabbinic tradition explicitly identifies these four as the four "angels" surrounding God's throne, and Nickelsburg assumes that this was inferred from the four living creatures in the throne vision of Ezekiel 1.[23]

4.1.3.3 PROPHECY OF JUDGEMENT

1 Enoch 2.4-5.9 leads up to another seminal concept, that of rebellion and consequent judgement for the "hard of heart". The theme of opposites continues in the following passage where the "hard of heart" are told that they will be judged, as opposed to the "chosen" in the next passage, who will inherit the earth.[24] There is promise of peace for the chosen but condemnation of the "hard of heart".

1 Enoch 5.4

> K. But you have not persevered, nor observed the law of the Lord. But you have transgressed, and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty. You hard of heart! You will not have peace!

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[23] This identification of Ezekiel's four living beings (*cherubim* in Ezekiel 10), with such specialized angels as archangels at this point in time, strengthens my disagreement with the point of view of Fletcher-Louis (2002b:300) that the Qumran sectarians saw themselves as *cherubim* (see discussion at 3.2.4.1 n.89).

[24] Cf. Mat 5:5. The "chosen" are the righteous who possess revealed wisdom, whereas the "hard of heart" are those who have not observed or acted according to the Lord's commandments.

N. But you have not stood firm nor acted according to his commandments; but you have turned aside, you have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty. Hard of heart! There will be no peace for you!

GM. However, you alter your works 13 [and do not carry out his word, instead you offend] against him with great and harsh [words] with your unclean mouth 14 [against his greatness. Hard-hearted ones] there will be no peace for you!

M.

ואנתן שניתן עבדכן ולא תעבדון ממרה ותע, ברון עלוהי רברבן וקשין ביום
טמתכן על רבותה הא קשי לבנבן לת שלם לכן

But ye, ye changed your works [and do not do His Word]; but ye transgress against Him with great and hard (words), with your unclean mouths [against His magnificence. Oh, hard-]hearted, you shall have no peace.

The opposite is expressed immediately afterwards:

I Enoch 5.7

K. For the chosen there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth. But for you, the impious, there will be a curse.

N. For the <chosen> there will be light and joy and peace; and they will inherit the earth. But for you wicked there will be a curse.

In the following description of the coming of the "The Holy and Great One" … the eternal God" as a divine Warrior, it is not only to execute judgement on the rebel watchers, but also universal judgement on humanity (Nickelsburg 2001:143).[25]

I Enoch 1.9

K. And behold! He comes with ten thousand holy ones to execute judgement upon them, and to destroy the impious, and to contend with all flesh concerning everything which the sinners and the impious have done and wrought against him.

N. Behold, he comes with the myriads of his holy ones, to execute judgement on all, and to destroy all the wicked, and to convict all flesh for all the wicked deeds that they have done, and the proud and hard words that wicked sinners spoke against him.

GM. 4QEnoch c ar [when he comes with] the myriads of his holy ones

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[25] Cf. Jude 14,15: "Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgement on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him".

(כדי יאתה עם רבו]את קדיש[ו]הי)

[to carry out the sentence against everyone; and he will destroy all the wicked]
17[and he will accuse all] flesh for all their [wicked deeds which they have
committed by word and deed] *18*[and for all their] arrogant and wicked [words
which wicked sinners have directed against him.

M. 4QEnoch c ar: [When He comes with] the myriads of His holy ones,   [to
execute judgement against all; and He will destroy all the wicked, and will
convict all] flesh, with regard to [all their] works [of wickedness which they have
committed in deed and in word, and with regard to all] the proud and hard [words
which wicked sinners have spoken against Him.

To summarise, the lists of revealed things stated in terms of cosmological opposites,
prepare the addressee for the development of the narrative of the rebellion of some
angels. As a backdrop to what is to follow, the complementary roles of heaven and earth
are repeatedly stated, as always functioning according to God's order. The complex
terminology for angels conveys the nuances of the narrative, whereas Genesis 6:2 and 4
mentions only "sons of God". The Aramaic version of the *Book of Watchers* uses the
double designation of "Watchers and Holy Ones", and the Greek and Ethiopian versions
have "angel" for the "good" angels, and "watchers" for the rebel angels. At *1 Enoch* 6.2
the Aramaic version indicates a judgemental tone solely by the use of the phrase "and
desired them". The rebellion of the watchers, with its consequence of judgement,
involves a specification of names of both good and bad angels. The prophecy of
judgement in the *Book of Watchers* does not contain any hope of repentance for the "hard
of heart" (the fallen angels), but in the later *Book of Parables* (*1 Enoch* chapters 37-71),
repentance is available by way of Phanuel's function. This does not appear to apply to
angels, but to "hope of all those who inherit eternal life".[26] In the *Book of Watchers,* it

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[26] The *Book of Parables* (*I Enoch* 37-71, dated to the first century BCE), specifies the functions of Michael,
Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel. In 39.5-6 Enoch sees the "dwelling of the righteous ... with the angels and
their resting places with the holy ones ... and righteousness like water flowed before them (cf. Rev 22:1)
and mercy like dew upon the ground" (Knibb 1978:126). In 39.7 Enoch specifies that he saw "their
dwelling under the wings of the Lord of Spirits, and all the righteous and chosen shone before him like the
light of fire." In 40.2-40.10 Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel (Phanuel here instead of Sariel/Suriel)
are described as the four figures on the four sides of the "Lord of Spirits" (i.e. in the position of the four
living beings/*cherubim*) who sing praises to the "Lord of Glory". Their differentiated functions are clearly
specified: Michael is described as "blessing the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever, the merciful and
longsuffering, who is in charge of all the diseases and wounds", and Raphael as " blessing the "Chosen
One" and the chosen who depend on the Lord of Spirits". Gabriel is the one "who is in charge of all the
'powers'". Phanuel "drives away the satans" and is "in charge of the repentance (leading) to hope of all

appears that evil is intrinsic in human beings because of the sin of the angels. The presupposition in the *Book of Watchers* is a belief in a demonic realm (Nickelsburg 2001:273). The narrative of the "fallen angels" accounts for the origins of that realm, using a generational metaphor to explain the proliferation and continued existence of malevolent spirits. The author of *Book of Watchers* 6-11 used Gen 6:1-4 as the foundation of his explanation of the origin of evil by adding information: "and desired them" (*I Enoch* 6:2). In *1 Enoch* 15.9 and 10 the continuation of sin after the flood is explained as a result of the divine spirit of the rebellious angels living on. Because of their dual nature[27], the bodies of the giants can die, but because they are begotten by divine beings their spirits are immortal and thus have continued existence:

> "The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits, for from humans they came into being, and from the holy watchers was the origin of their creation. Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and evil spirits they will be called. The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten in the earth, and evil spirits they will be called" (*I Enoch* 15:9-10, Nickelsburg 2001:267).

This model, described above in *I Enoch* 15:99-10, occurs again in later gnostic literature as an explanation for evil and is discussed in chapter 6, part 1. Nickelsburg (2001:47) notes that already in the final redaction of the *Book of Watchers* the importance of the heavenly rebellion is de-emphasised by focusing on human responsibility for sin, and García Martínez (2003b:13) comes to the conclusion that by the time of the *Epistle of Enoch* there is a "direct rebuttal of the conclusion *of Book of Watchers* of the heavenly origin of evil ... it is impossible not to conclude that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* is completely turning around the conclusion of *the Book of Watchers* ... Evil does not come from heaven, but it is the result of human action, although the modality of this human origin is not specified."

In the pericope below, the apocalyptic characteristic of dependence on a revelatory experience concerned with achieving knowledge of God, or the way to God, is present in

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those who inherit eternal life." The appearance of the idea of repentance in this context has been discussed in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,* and crops up again in the *Apocryphon of John.*

[27] The concept of a dual nature bestowing immortality here in *1 Enoch* 15.9-10 may have been part of Philo's apperceptive mass, and thereby contributing to his ground-breaking exegesis of Genesis 1:26, 27 and 2:7 (discussed in chapter 5).

this text in full force, together with the other chief apocalyptic characteristic, the throne of God in heaven.

4.1.4 ENOCH'S FIRST DREAM VISION OF THE THRONE OF GOD

Although the prophecy of judgement is a vital aspect of the *Book of Watchers* (Nickelsburg 2001:37), for the purposes of this dissertation the focus will be on *1 Enoch* 14.18-23 where there is a description of Enoch's principal metaphor for God. God is portrayed as a King seated on a throne in the heavenly place, in his "transcendent holiness, glory, greatness, power and justice". This is the metaphor that first appears in Ezekiel 1 and 10, and then is consistently present in biblical apocalyptic literature, through Daniel 7 and 10, to the New Testament, for example in Mat 31:20-24, and especially in Hebrews and Revelation.[28] The complexity and power of the imagery is conveyed in layer upon layer of metaphorical material when viewed against its original context in the Hebrew Bible. These descriptions contain motifs which appear repeatedly in the context of the throne of God which have been dealt with in chapters 2 and 3.

Clouds, mist, lightning flashes, shooting stars, tongues of fire and hailstones are seen by Enoch as he is borne along to heaven by wind. The ceiling was like shooting stars and lightning flashes, and among them were fiery *cherubim*. Here again the theme of elemental opposites comes strikingly to the fore: he enters a house, which is "hot as fire and cold as snow" (*1 Enoch* 14.13). This theme is also present in the platform of terrible ice below the fiery throne in Ezekiel 1, 10, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Enoch then sees a second house "built of tongues of fire ... so excellent in glory and splendour and majesty, its floor is of fire, and its ceiling is a flaming fire", and sees a throne, and once again, the description given consists of pairs of opposites e.g. ice/shining sun.

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[28] Rowland (1994:504-518) has presented evidence of apocalyptic features throughout the gospels, especially in Matthew, in the sense that secrets are revealed, some of which relate to the future.

I Enoch 14.18-23

I Enoch 14.18.

K. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surrounds like the shining sun and the sound of *cherubim*.

N. And I was looking,
And I saw a lofty throne;
and its appearance was like ice;
and its wheels[29] were like the shining sun;
and its <guardians> were *cherubim*;[30]

M.

ואחזית וחזית בה כרסא רם ומחזיה[כזכוכי
וגלגלוהי כגלגל שמשא מנירא וגדנפוהי כנרובין [31]

And it was shown to me and I saw in it a lofty throne, and its appearance]
　　　[was like crystal -glass,
and its wheels were like the disc of the shining sun, and its sides] were *cherubim*.

Because in both Nickelsburg's and Milik's translations the word "wheels" masks the angelological content conveyed by the word *galgali* from Ezekiel 10, I suggest the following alteration of Milik's second line as follows:

"and its *galgali* were like the disk of the shining sun, and its sides were *cherubim*."

Milik (1976:199-200) suggests that line 3 (ὡς ἡλίου λάμποντος) be emended to ὡς τροχός ἡλίου λάμποντος ("as the disk of the shining sun") on the basis of the Damascus Document in the Cairo Geniza 10:15. He suggests that this would explain the incorrect genitives. Although not intended as such by Milik, the term "disk of the shining sun" is an interesting connection of the concept of the wheel/*galgal* to the Egyptian concept of the sun disk which is reflected in iconography (cf. figs. 1, 4, and 6). This connection is discussed again in chapters 6 and 8.

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[29] Aramaic word גלגל , translated as τροχός in G a. Eth. has *kebabu*.
[30] Knibb's translation mentions the sound of the *cherubim*, presumably their wings. Milik's translation specifies that the sides of the throne were *cherubim*.
[31] The *resh* and the *yod* are uncertain readings

1 Enoch 14.19.

> K. And from underneath the high throne there flowed out rivers of burning fire so that it was impossible to look at it.
>
> N.   and from beneath the throne issued streams of flaming fire.
> And I was unable to see

M.   מן תחות כרסיא נפקין] שבלין ד[ן] [נור ולא יכלת למחזה

[And from beneath the throne came forth] streams of [fire, and I could not look.

"Fire" is a reasonable reconstruction here by Milik, because it is a consistent feature of the throne of God in heaven. The important angelological motif of rivers/streams of fire has been discussed in the texts from Qumran and its significance is mentioned again below in the discussion at 14.22.

1 Enoch 14.20.

> K. And he who is great in glory sat on it, and his raiment was brighter than the sun, and whiter than any snow.

> N. And the Great Glory sat upon it;
> his raiment was like the appearance of the sun
> and whiter than much snow.

> M.
>
> רבותא רבתא יתבת על כרסיא דן ולבושה נהיר מן שמשא
> וחור מן ת]לגא רב[א]
>
> Great Majesty sat upon this throne, and His raiment was brighter than the sun and whiter than] much snow [....

Here the association of the sun with God as king appears. The association with Daniel's vision of the throne, "white as snow" (Dan 7:9) and the opposites of sun and snow, heat and cold appear.[32]

1 Enoch 14.21.

> K. And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face of him who is honoured and praised no (creature of) flesh could look.

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[32] Rowland (1994:508) points out that these key words sun and snow (once again cosmological opposites) and face and clothing, also appear in the synoptic gospels in theophany contexts. He also notes the connection of ἐξαστράπτων at Luke 9:29 to *1 Enoch* 14.11 and 17. This word has been discussed in 3.1.2.1 n.28 on Ez 1:7 compared to Dan 10:6.

N. And no angel could enter into this house and behold his face because of the splendor and glory;
and no flesh could behold him.

1 Enoch 14.22.

K. A sea of fire burnt around him, and a great fire stood before him, and none of those around him came near to him. Ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before him but he needed no holy counsel."

N. "Flaming fire encircled him, and a great fire stood by him;
and none of those about him approached him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him;
but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed;"

The parallelism of "a great fire stood by him, ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" is noteable (Nickelsburg 2001:265): the fire "stood", παρειστήκει, i.e. was animate - it was made up of 10,000 angels standing by him. Here again fire is a major feature of the throne of God in heaven, but the implication of the parallelism is that it is made up of myriads of heavenly attendants, apparently preventing access to God's throne room. This confirms the interpretation of streams/rivers of fire as angelic activity, which is discussed in the final chapter as an important angelological motif. Nickelsburg (2001:265) interprets verses 21 and 22 as a "portrait, here of a totally transcendent and sovereign God". Verse 22 reflects a far reaching issue which impinges on the development of Jewish angelology: the hellenistic concept of the totally transcendent and unapproachable God, as for instance seen in Philo's writings.

1 Enoch 14.23

K. "And the Holy Ones who were near to him did not leave by night or day, and did not depart from him".

N. "And the holy ones of the watchers who approached him did not depart by night, nor <by day> did they leave him".

This vision is followed by an oracle in which the Lord calls Enoch to him and instructs him to go to the watchers of heaven and tell them the following:

1 Enoch 15.2

"You should petition in behalf of men, and not men in behalf of you ..."

1 Enoch 16.3,4

"You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils upon the earth. Say to them, 'You will have no peace' ".

4.1.5 DISCUSSION

The verses above reassert the prophecy of judgement stated in *I Enoch* 1.9, but are also reminiscent of the judgement upon the *elohim* of Ps. 82.[33] God's throne is a well described element of apocalypticism, but in looking at the earliest Jewish tradition about intermediaries it seems that judgment inevitably accompanies any mention of the throne of God in heaven (Ps 82; Ezekiel 1-2, 9-11; I Kings 22:19-23; Job 1-3). In almost all of *I Enoch* too, angels play a crucial role as intercessors for humanity, but always in a judgement context (Nickelsburg 2001:208). Sacchi (1997:86,87) sees the underlying problem that all apocalyptic literature addresses as the problem of evil (Martone 1998:600). Sacchi suggests (1997:113) that the centre of apocalyptic thought should be sought in the conception of sin, not in eschatology or messianism because the latter two concepts are subsequent to and built upon this primary conception of sin.[34]

In 8.1 chart C 2 the motifs of this text are compared to the foregoing texts. The *Book of Watchers* has a slightly different distribution of motifs to the foregoing four texts.   The most striking difference is that it does not use the word *hashmal*, which appears in an angelological context in Ezekiel 1 and in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The word *ophanim* does not appear either, but that may be because it is originally an Aramaic text, so *galgal* is used in any case for "wheel". The phrase "do not turn" does not appear, but 14.23 indicates that there were "holy ones of the watchers" who approached him (οἱ

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[33] This connection has been noted by several scholars.

ἐγγίζοντες) and "did not depart". However, there is not enough of an indication as to how to interpret this statement, or to connect it to the motif of the angelic beings not turning.

4.1.5.1 ASCENT TO HEAVEN AND THE CONCEPT OF DEIFICATION

Sullivan (2004:236, 237) notes that amongst others, the Enochic tradition would have influenced the early Jewish mystics, whose goal was to see God enthroned: "That some righteous humans had ascended to heaven (e.g. Enoch), meant that there was a model for others to follow." Alexander (2003:8, 9) stresses that in the older Enochic literature such as the *Book of Watchers*, it is not implied that Enoch *physically* ascended to heaven - there is still a strong sense of the duality of heaven and earth, they are "two utterly different worlds, and physical communication between them is essentially unthinkable and theologically dangerous ... an ascent of a human to heaven would have represented the same trespass in reverse" (to the primal fall of the Watchers). Even when Enoch is finally removed from earth it is to paradise, not to heaven. However, in the *Parables of Enoch*, the idea was indeed accepted that Enoch had been physically transformed and thus made a *bodily* ascent to heaven. Alexander ascribes this development to the growing interest in the fate of the righteous after death, and states that the *Parables of Enoch*, where this is mentioned (*I Enoch* 70-71), is too early to be influenced by Christian ideas. Rather, the idea of a bodily ascent to heaven is a natural outgrowth of the preceding evolution of Enoch. The idea of resurrection is intimated in *1 Enoch Book of Dreams* (late second century BCE), where Enoch is being transformed into the heavenly Son of Man. This possibly can be seen as a precursor to the idea of the righteous, after death, becoming angels worshipping God in heaven. In Second Temple Judaism there was speculation about one or more beings "who might be considered God's pre-eminent heavenly servants standing in a role second only to God himself, distinct from all other agents of God, closer to him than all the rest of creation (Hurtado 1988:18). Hurtado recognised three general types within the above definition: a) personified divine attributes

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[34] For this reason Sacchi (1997:113) perceives Daniel (cf. part 3) as on the margins of apocalypticism because "it does not know of any angelic sin that contaminates human nature".

such as Wisdom or the Logos, b) exalted patriarchs like Enoch and Moses,[35] and c) supreme angels like Michael.

In trying to refine Hurtado's categories, Davis (1994:482) distinguished three different patterns of mediation in Jewish literature, all of which are linked to time: a) the "legacy" pattern which involves mediation from the past, e.g. Abraham, Moses, David; b) mediation in the present, or "intervention", e.g. Gabriel in the book of Daniel, Raphael in *1 Enoch* 10.4-5, 20.3 and in *Tobit*; c) the "consummation pattern", concerning Jewish messianic expectation, linked to the future, e.g. Elijah.[36] Davis proposes that in the New Testament writings, Jesus transcends these distinctions to embody a multiple pattern of all three these categories. By this token he goes so far as to suggest that Enoch, Michael in the *Book of Watchers,* and Melchizedek in 11QMelch, also fulfill the triple pattern of mediation and thus provide a model in which worship of the divine agent is possible.

Davis's (1994:495-496) classification of Enoch as a "genuine triple pattern" elevated heavenly mediator is borne out in his function in the *Book of Watchers* in that he is a) a channel of revelation (legacy pattern), b) in *Book of Watchers* 12 to 16 he is chosen to take messages between God and the fallen Watchers (interventive pattern), and c) in *Book of Watchers* 12.4 to 15.1 he is addressed as "son of righteousness" following his exaltation in the course of his pronouncing the divine judgement on the watchers (consummation pattern). Davis (1994:496) points out the similarity of the figure of Enoch to Jesus in that a) mediation is ascribed to a particular human being, b) Enoch is said to have experienced miraculous freedom from death, c) Enoch is in a position to intercede actively with God, d) he is to have a decisive influence on the last day. The crucial difference is that Jesus as high priest performed the ultimate sacrifice on the cross by himself suffering physical death.

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[35] For the latter see Mal 4:4 "Remember the law of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel."
[36] Cf. Mal 4:5 "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes".

Wright (2005:248) understands Enoch's ascent and appearance before God as envisaging heaven as a temple where the angels serve as priests. Wright (2005:248) points out that Enoch is playing the role of both scribe (12.4) and priest, in that he gains entrance to the sanctuary, and intercedes for the fallen angels.[37] The corollary of this idea of angels serving as priests may be playing a role in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and would explain Fletcher-Louis's understanding (2002b:302-305) of the latter text as indicating that the sectarians viewed themselves as angelic priests already in heaven.[38]

4.1.6   CONCLUSION

Book of Watchers states the norm that the natural elements have been set in place to function in terms of complementary opposites, but that intermarriage between heavenly and earthly beings transgresses God's law and represents rebellion originating in heaven. The consequence of this action results in the perpetuation of evil on earth, in that the divine spirits (which have been procreated on earth), do not undergo death, precisely because they are divine. However, it is prophesied that evil must be judged and punished, and certain good angels perform the function of prophecy and punishment for the "hard of heart" who do not repent.   It is not actually clear whether the "hard of heart" includes the angels who have rebelled, or their evil, earthly offspring, the first generation of which is equivalent to the "giants". The juxtaposition of the incident of the fallen angels and consequent entrance of evil on earth, closely followed by Enoch's dream vision of the throne of God is noteable. Angels with special functions play an overt and covert role in Enoch's dream vision, some in intimate association with the throne of God, and always in a judgement context.

Alexander (1998:103) states that it is evident from Daniel 7 that the Son of Man originated outside the Enochic tradition, and that this is confirmed in the *Parables* where he is depicted as distinct from Enoch until right up to the end. Throughout the *Book of Parables* Enoch is "a transcendent, angelic being who functions as the celestial champion

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[37] Davis (1994:496) notes that the role of Enoch as scribe and witness at the consummation is more clearly stated in 2 *Enoch* 50.1 and 64.5 which suggests that he not only reveals but "carries away" sin.

[38] Wright proposes that the *Book of Watchers* is hinting in a veiled way at certain priests as fallen Watchers who violated "boundaries between the sacred and profane, resulting in their condemnation".

of the righteous on earth and the judge of their wicked enemies". Only at *I Enoch* 71.14, is Enoch identified as the Son of Man and the two figures are fused.

As in Dan 10:14 (discussed in this chapter part 3), an apocalyptic tone brings the *Book of Watchers* to a close in a grand climax at 34.1-36.4 when Enoch sees the twelve open gates of heaven in the four cardinal directions, and within he sees the "Lord of Glory". The theme of God enthroned in heaven is taken up again in Hebrews and Revelation, but in the *Book of Watchers* Enoch's ascent to heaven is not a physical ascent, it is a dream vision, probably modelled to a large extent on Ezekiel's vison in Ezekiel 1 and 10. The two major angelological motifs of the Divine Council and fire, indicate by their presence in this vision that it was influenced by Ezekiel 1 and 10. These and other prominent motifs are tabulated in 8.1, charts C 2 and 3. In comparison to the texts dealt with in chapter 3, Enoch's vision of the throne of God also has the motifs of fire, streams of fire from the wheels, throne, *galgal*, *cherubim*, but not *hashmal* or "do not turn". The distribution of motifs in chapter 3, and of the three texts in this chapter, is summarised at the end of this chapter. The complexities of the angelology of this text crop up repeatedly in the texts which follow, for instance in the Hermetic tradition and in Gnosticism where Enoch is a revealer of heavenly *gnosis* (Alexander 1998:117).[39]

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[39] In *1 Enoch* 28.1-32:6 Enoch sees the wonderful "tree of wisdom" from which Adam and Eve "ate and learned wisdom".

4.2   SECTION 2. THE BOOK OF *TOBIT*

4.2.1 TEXTUAL HISTORY, DATE, AND SETTING

The genre of this text is completely different to the other texts of this study, and this complicates the identification of angelic motifs.   Fitzmyer (2003:31) describes it as "a Jewish religious romance composed for an edifying and didactic purpose," and as a "typical ego-narrative of the ancient romance genre" (Fitzmyer 2003:101).   The major angelological motif of sun/fire does not appear on the surface, but can perhaps be considered as transformed into the theme of light as opposed to darkness, in the form of blindness/recovery of sight.   The other major angelic motif, the Divine Council, is directly alluded to at *Tob* 3.16 and 12.12, but pervades the entire narrative as underlying foundation of angelic mediation.

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1952, the story of *Tobit* was only known from various ancient translations of different Greek versions. The written form of *Tobit* reflects extensive oral tradition, with many syncretistic folkloristic strands,[40] as well as an allusion to the Imperial or Official Aramaic story of Ahikar (dated to the 5th Century BCE) which was discovered in Elephantine in Middle Egypt.[41] This connection to *Tobit* is interesting in that four fragmentary Aramaic texts of *Tobit* were found at Qumran: 4Q *Tob* a-d, and one Hebrew text: 4Q *Tob* e. Fitzmyer (2003:25) agrees with Milik (1976:59) and Flint (2001b:91) that *Tobit* was originally written in Aramaic, but disagrees with Albright that it was in Official Aramaic.[42] That the manuscript transmission of the story

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[40] For instance in Egypt the entrails of certain fish were believed to have medicinal qualities. (Moore 1996:14). Secondly, the name of the demon Asmodeus betrays Persian influence (538-332 BCE), and thirdly, in the Zoroastrian faith the dog, respected for its courage and faithfulness, served as an intermediary between the worshipper and his god, and between the living and the dead. The role of the dog is in keeping with Iranian beliefs that dogs repel demons. There was a dog cult associated with Gula the goddess of healing dated to c. 1050 BCE at Isin in Babylonia. In a Neo-Assyrian text a dog which crosses the Gula temple is explained as a messenger sent by Gula (Kawami 1986:263). That the dog functions as a symbol of healing in this text is reinforced by the juxtaposition of the fishes gall and the dog in *Tob* 11:4: "Raphael said to Tobiah, 'Have in your hands the gall'. And the dog went along behind them."

[41] The narrative of *Ahikar* may be as old as the 7th century, possibly composed in Mesopotamia (Collins 1993a:41).

[42] According to Fitzmyer (1979:61) Imperial or Official Aramaic was used from 700-200 BCE.

of *Tobit* is unusually complicated (Fitzmyer 2003:3) is reflected in the variation in scholarly opinion not only about the original language, but also place and date of origin.[43]

Since Fitzmyer's publication of the Qumran texts of *Tobit* (*DJD* XIX), the scholarly consensus favours the Greek long version of *Tobit* G II (Sinaiticus, 4-5th Century CE) as older than G I (the shorter version), as witnessed to by the Qumran fragments.[44] They are. G II is used in this study as the foundational text for comparative purposes because it has a very early character, and it is presented by Weeks *et al* in a raw and unreconstructed form (2004:5). The Qumran fragments published by Fitzmyer in *DJD* are also referred to. Unless otherwise stated, version G II, and Fitzmyer's translation, is quoted.

Currently there are basically three schools of thought about the date of *Tobit* - relatively early, relatively late, or even as late as after the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 BCE. The narrative is set in the days of Shalmanezer (*Tob* 1.15), the fifth king of Assyria who conquered Samaria, as a result of which exiles were taken to Nineveh in Assyria in 727-722 BCE.[45] The reader is told that Tobit's ancestry is from the Northern tribe of Naphtali. Tobit describes himself as an exceptionally righteous Israelite who is faithful to the Mosaic Law, and regularly visits the Temple at Jerusalem. Therefore the actual time of the writing of *Tobit* is clearly after Josiah's reforms (640-609 BCE) and the centralization of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem.

In the end (13.16-17) Tobit predicts that Jerusalem and "God's house" (14.5) will be rebuilt, but his description is nothing like the earthly Jerusalem, and in the main he

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[43] For instance, the Greek translation ὁ ὕψιστος is present at 1:13, and indicates the old North-Semitic term אל יון for El, but as with the Aramaic form אל ין, so the use of the Greek term is also present in the New Testament, thus it cannot be taken as an indication of a North-Semitic origin for *Tobit*.

[44] The very fragmentary Qumran copies date from ca. 100 BCE to the early part of the first century CE (Weeks et al 2004:29).

[45] Although the fall of Nineveh (612 BCE) is mentioned at the end of the narrative, various inaccurate allusions in the narrative, eg that Sennacherib was the successor to Shalmanezer, indicate a lack of direct knowledge of the actual historical and geographical circumstances of the setting. This and other inconsistences (see Fitzmyer 2003:32, 33, Moore 1996:10; Wikgren 1962:660) contribute to a cumulative impression that the time of writing must be at least after the exilic period (538-515 BCE). Several indications in the text described below are such that the actual time of writing cannot be before the return of the Babylonian exiles in 538 BCE under the Persian king Cyrus, but at the earliest, during the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, which was completed in 515 BCE.

leaves the rebuilt temple undescribed, except that it will be "just as the prophets of Israel have said of it". His description of the jewelled paved streets in the rebuilt Jerusalem in 13.16b, 17[46] is reminiscent of the eschatological Jerusalem in Rev 21:10-21, but a jewelled pavement (of σαπφείρου) is mentioned in Exod 24:10; Ez 1:26 and Ez 10:1, and this could be the source of his description. Thus *Tobit* might have been written before the actual rebuilding of the second Temple, rather than in the second century as the current scholarly consensus has it, or alternatively, the author chose to disregard or reject the Second Temple as the Samaritans did.[47] The possibility that the author lived very far away from Jerusalem, for example Alexandria or even Elephantine would also explain the innacurate geographical details and vagueness about the second temple in Jerusalem.[48]

4.2.2 THE DEUTERONOMISTIC FOUNDATION OF *TOBIT*

An indication that the author of *Tobit* probably derived the historical setting of his narrative from deuteronomic writings (Deut to II Kings), which date to the seventh century, is that the same historical inaccuracy as in *Tob* 1.15, 18 regarding the successor of Shalmanezer, is implied in the deuteronomic writings of 2 Kings 17:1-6 and 18:9-13. For example Sennacherib is not Shalmanezer's son, but Sargon's (Wikgren 1962:660). Mayes (1979:57-58) defines the central theme of Deuteronomy as a) a call to the service of one god b) by an elect people c) centered around one sanctuary, d) through obedience to the law in the land which God has given. The following three elements of deuteronomistic writings are present in the *Book of Tobit*:

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[46] καὶ αἱ θύραι Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαπφείρῳ καὶ σμαράγδῳ οἰκοδομηθήσονται καὶ λίθῳ τιμίῳ πάντα τὰ τείχη σου οἱ πύργοι Ἰερουσαλὴμ χρυσίῳ οἰκοδομηθήσονται καὶ οἱ προμαχῶνες αὐτῶν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ αἱ πλατεῖαι Ἰ(ερουσα)λ(η)μ ἄνθρακι ψηφολογηθήσονται καὶ λίθῳ Σουφείρ.

[47] This would harmonize with the choice of the name Tobit being related to the prominent Northern Tobiad family.

[48] Compare Patterson (1953:475), who suggested that *Tobit* was written by an Egyptian Jew as late as the early part of the second century.

1) CENTRALIZATION OF WORSHIP

Right in the beginning of the narrative in 1.4 Tobit states that the Temple, God's habitation, was hallowed forever, and Tobit presents himself at the outset as a righteous Jew who unlike all his compatriots, faithfully goes up to the Temple for the festivals, tithes generously and also buries his dead fellow Jews. This anchors *Tobit* at this beginning stage of the narrative firmly to the historical period when it was still believed that God is present in the holy of holies - one fixed place, according to the centralization of worship (cf. Deut 12:11-18).

2) THEODICY AND COMMUNAL GUILT

In Tobit's prayer, after having been vilified by his wife for his upholding of the value of righteous deeds after he had been blinded, he expresses his consciousness of communal guilt for the sin of Israel "because we have not kept your commandments and have not walked faithfully before you" (3.5).[49] This concept of theodicy is in line with the deuteronomistic view of the justice of God in terms of communal guilt (Laato 2003b:188, 232),[50] and reinforces the impression of deuteronomistic thinking as the setting in the beginning and main part of the narrative.

3) GOD'S JUSTICE AND APOCALYPTICISM

At the end of the narrative Tobiah's rejoicing at Nineveh's destruction in *Tob* 14.15b is in line with the deuteronomistic view that evil must be punished,[51] and yet from 13.11 an "incipient apocalypticism" is evident (Wikgren 1962:661), which seems to counter the deuteronomistic outlook.

The pseudonymous name Azariah ("Yah helps"), son of Hananiah ("Yah favours") with which Raphael ("El has healed") introduces himself (*Tob* 5.10), has interesting connections with the Book of Daniel, where Azariah is the Hebrew name of Abednego. The dating of Daniel generally accepted by scholars is the time of persecution of the Jews by Antiochus

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[49] Only a minute fragment of this verse is extant in the Qumran texts: 4Q 196:] ל[מעבד בי, which Fitzmyer translates as "[to] deal with me [ ]".

[50] For instance the righteous Josiah's death (his reign started in 639 BCE) at the battle of Megiddo (609 BCE) was attributed directly to the sins committed during the reign of Manasseh (2 Kings 23:26-30), so that the entire nation suffered exile and the dethronement of the Davidic dynasty in 587/586 BCE.

[51] "Jerusalem, holy city, He has afflicted you because of what your hands have done" (*Tob* 13.9).

Epiphanes (168/7 BCE). Goldstein (1990:12) defines the "critical period" of the history of the Jews as 175-163 BCE – the period which began with Jason's high priesthood at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV, down to when Antiochus V restored to the Jews their laws and temple (II Maccabees 11.23-26). The Septuagint of Daniel has 68 verses inserted at Dan 3:23, the first section of which is a prayer by Azariah, which could be appropriate for anyone suffering oppression. There are clearly allusions in this prayer (which may have been a previously existent composition) to the language of Deut 28-32 (Stone 1984:149). The fifteenth verse of Azariah's prayer speaks of the absence of civil government and cessation of Temple worship.[52] This prayer could apply to the Babylonian exile[53], but would be even more appropriate in the early second century BCE when Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated the temple, and when there was no prophet or native government (Dentan 1993:68-69).

In *Tob* 5.13 the angel Raphael in disguise introduces himself as follows: ἐγὼ Ἀζαρίας Ἀνανίου τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου (version G II).[54] This choice of name and genealogy is interesting in the light of LXX Nehemiah 3:23b, which records incidents that happened about 300 years after the historical setting that the author chose for the narrative: Ἀζαρίας υἱὸς Μαασίου, υἱοῦ Ἀνανία ἐχόμενα οἴκου αὐτοῦ. "After them Azariah the son of Maasiah, son of Ananiah repaired beside his own house." This is a possible indication that the author could have been writing at least as early as just after the building of the wall of Jerusalem by Nehemia which started in 445/4 BCE, and as the *Book of Tobit* never speaks of the Law and the Prophets collectively as Scripture, a date before 200 BCE would be possible (Stone 1984:45). Flint (2001b:87) estimates the fourth or third century BCE for the date of composition, but the narrative could be applicable to

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[52] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄρχων καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἡγούμενος. The association of chaos with absence of rulership was also a well established ancient Egyptian principle, as for instance expressed in the *Oracle of the Potter*. It must be kept in mind that some Jews, during the Babylonian conquest, had fled to Egypt. Certain papyri of the 5th century BCE contain the correspondence from a Jewish military colony at Elephantine (where there was a Jewish temple, destroyed in 410 BCE), to the Persian and Jewish officials in Palestine. An example is the Marriage Contract from the Jewish Military Community at Aswan, c. 441BCE (Fitzmyer 1979:243-271).

[53] *Tobit* quotes Amos as canonical (*Tob* 2.6) whereas the prophets were only canonical in the postexilic period.

[54] The only fragment from Qumran that contains remnants of this is 4Q 197: עזר אנה. This is reconstructed by Fitzmyer (1995:43) as [אנה עזר]יה בר.

the much later Hellenistic era, possibly even during Seleucid (c.200 -167 BCE) or Maccabean times (167-63 BCE). Fitzmyer (2003:26) suggests that the written form is even later: somewhere between Daniel and *Genesis Apocryphon*, i.e. the first century BCE to the first century CE. He suggests that it was written within Palestinian Judaism because of Tobit's interest in his homeland and in the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and states that "there is no serious reason to think that the *Book of Tobit* is not integral and does not represent the original form" (2003:45). In order to come to a decision about the date of composition, the angelology and ideology of the story must first be examined.

4.2.3 ANGELOLOGY

The way in which the angelology is expressed in *Tobit* reveals that the actual time of writing cannot be before the return of the exiles, for instance that the angel sent to heal Tobit and Sarah is actually named, is a post-exilic development in Jewish angelology. Another indication is that Tobit writes his story at the command of the angel Raphael (12.20: γράψατε πάντα ταῦτα τὰ συμβάντα ὑμῖν). The following five functions of Raphael which are specifically mentioned also betray a post-exilic setting.

1) In postexilic Jewish writings Raphael was considered a member of the Divine Council (Fitzmyer 2003:160), as is clearly indicated at 12.12 where Raphael reveals to Tobit and Tobiah that he brought the prayers of Sarah and Tobit to God's throne in heaven (καὶ νῦν ὅτε προσηύξω καὶ Σάρρα ἐγὼ προσήγαγον τὸ μνημόσυνον τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης κ(υριο)υ). In Raphael's self-revelation in 12.12-15, 18-20, he depicts himself as an intermediary (cf. Rev 8:3-4) who carries a record of good works before God. In 12.15 Raphael alludes to the Divine Council motif when he reveals that he is "one of the seven angels who stand in attendance and enter the glorious presence of the Lord" (εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων οἳ παρεστήκασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης κ(υριο)υ). This also conforms to later angelological reflections as in the *Epistle of Enoch* (chapters 91-108 of *1 Enoch*, dated to the second century BCE).

2) In *1 Enoch* 9 Raphael is listed among the four special angels who belong around the throne of God, but then at *1 Enoch* 20-36 (and 81), the number of special angels who are named with their functions has three added to make seven (Nickelsburg 2001:207). It seems therefore that the seven archangels in *Tobit* are derived from the *Book of Watchers*.

3) The angelic function of being "sent to test you" at 12.14 (τότε ἀπέσταλμαι ἐπὶ σὲ πειράσαι), appears in postexilic writings such as Job 1. That it appears in the earlier version G II, but not in the Qumran texts, or in G I is puzzling. It does not appear in *Codex Alexandrinus* either. The possibility has to be considered that *Tobit* may have an earlier and a later part, and that the Qumran texts of *Tobit* and *Codex Alexandrinus* preserve the earlier part, and that this particular phrase was inserted later into G II.

4) The angelic function of healing (12.14b) also appears in G I, but is not extant in the Qumran texts. This feature has been recognised as a link between *Tobit* and the New Testament.

5) In G II it is specifically stated that "Raphael went and bound it [the demon Asmodeus] there [Egypt], shackling it at once". Here Raphael acts as an angel in the Ezekelian[55] and *Chaldean Oracles*[56] sense in that he moves instantly (? like lightning) from Ecbatana to Egypt and back again to his post with Tobiah in no time at all (8.3). G I and *Codex Alexandrinus* simply mention that "the angel bound it there". This verse is not extant in any of the Qumran copies, which suggests that it may be a later addition.

4.2.3.1 THE MOTIF OF LIGHT

Light and darkness become an important element in the *Tobit* story, where "darkness" is a synonym for death and Sheol (Fitzmyer 2003:171). Tobit announces in the beginning of the narrative: "My eyes grew dim ... For four years I remained incapable of seeing" (*Tob* 2.10), and in *Tob* 3.17 the reader is informed by the narrator that Raphael was sent to cure

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[55] See 3.1.2.1 on Ez 1:14.
[56] See Chapter 6, section 3.

both Tobit and Sarah: "Tobit … that he might see with them (his eyes) God's light."[57] At *Tob* 10.5 Tobiah's mother calls him "light of my eyes", and Tobit uses the same term at *Tob* 11.14. In the end, at *Tob* 14.10, "light" and "darkness" are used as symbols of good and evil: "Ahiqar came forth to see the light, but Nadin passed into eternal Darkness" (Fitzmyer 2003:333).[58]

In this use of the motif of light, I see it as reflecting the light of God as a symbol of good. However, at *Tob* 13.11 "A bright light will shine unto all the ends of the earth" makes a connection with Isa 60:1-3,[59] which clearly associates the light of God in the sense of enlightenment, with the ancient concept of the sun as reflecting the light of God.[60] In all other respects the sun/fire motif is completely absent in *Tobit*, but as an ultimate source of light, in other texts dealt with in this dissertation, the sun is actually regarded as a manifestation of God both in his power and inapproachability.

4.2.4 DISCUSSION

4.2.4.1 A SHIFT IN DEUTERONOMISTIC PARADIGM?

The main part of the narrative of *Tobit* is still clearly anchored to this world, in that it describes the rewards that *Tobit* receives through healing while still on earth, as well as such typical Jewish ideals as seven grandsons, a peaceful death, honourable burial, and escape from political turmoil for his family.[61] However, the curing of Tobit's blindness and of Sarah's malady conveys the message that faith in God results in God travelling along with the sufferer on earth - the devout visit to the temple is no longer necessary. God is now

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[57] Aramaic 4Q 196 7:1-2 preserves [נהר]ת ש[מ]יא] [the ligh]t of hea[ven].

[58] Fitzmyer (2003:122) notes that in the original (probably Assyrian) story of *Ahiqar*, he is an Assyrian Gentile, but here the author has made him a righteous, alms-giving Jew. The family relationship of Tobit with Ahikar gives Tobit an enhanced status.

[59] "Arise, shine; for you light has come, and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you. …. But the Lord will arise upon you, and his glory will be seen upon you. And nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising" (NRSV).

[60] The source of later Christian associations is discernable here, and this hints at the possibility that this part of *Tobit* underwent a Christian redaction. Fitzmyer (2003:313) notes that the variety of textual variations indicates that the text here has not been transmitted correctly.

[61] An anomaly to be kept in mind when the date of composition is considered is that Tobit states that Jerusalem will be rebuilt as "God's dwelling place for all ages" (13.16), but his description is other-worldly and remarkably reminiscent of the eschatology of Revelation 21.

understood to be with his faithful believers wherever they go, not because they carry the ark with them, but through angelic intervention and mediation originating at the throne of God in heaven (*Tob* 3.16; 12.12-15). Stone (1984:45, 46) has noted the incorporation in the book of *Tobit* of motifs, forms, and formulae which occur with some frequency in apocalyptic literature, for instance reference to a divine throne-room (3.16;[62] 12.12-15), with seven archangels, the binding of a demon by an angel, and an angelophany culminating in a commission to write a book. Charlesworth (2003:508) defines apocalypticism as a development in which "God cannot be found in present historical events, but he or his messenger (an angel, the Son of Man, or perhaps the Messiah) - is coming from above or from the future". This orientation is very tentative in *Tobit*, for example *Tob* 13.9-18, esp. 13 and 14:

> "Rejoice and exult over the children of the righteous, because they will all be gathered together and will praise the Lord of the righteous. How blessed are those who love you; they will rejoice in your peace. Blessed are those who have grieved over all your afflictions, for they will rejoice over you when they see all your glory and will be cheered forever."

The way the narrative develops raises the suspicion that the motive for the writing was indeed to shift the conception of God from that of God's presence as static in the holy of holies in the Jerusalem temple, to an emerging concept of an ever present, healing God mediated through angelic activity. This is clear, but it is not so clear that this was a move away from the deuteronomistic outlook because the Deuteronomists actually combatted the belief that the Deity dwelt within the sanctuary, rather, in their conceptual framework, he caused his Name to dwell there.

4.2.4.2 THEODICY IN *TOBIT*

García Martínez (2003b:9-11) has demonstrated that the theodicy of *Epistle of Enoch* (*I Enoch* 91-108), which has been dated to the second century BCE, reverses that of the *Book of Watchers*. The *Epistle of Enoch* ends up in the last chapter with full-blown apocalypticism: the righteous will experience goodness eternally after death. The point of transition between these two concepts of angelic intervention seems to be a crucial

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[62] G II (earlier) "At that very moment the prayer of both of them was heard in the glorious presence of God". G I "The prayer of both of them was heard in the presence of glory of the great Raphael".

turning point in angelological thinking. In *Tobit*, angelic intervention takes place on earth in a context where the mediated presence of God journeys with the main character, yet shows signs of an incipient apocalypticism. In the *Epistle of Enoch* angelic participation is situated in heaven with full blown apocalyptic content. This change in the conception of Jewish angelology lies at the start of what may be a new vector of thought which may be what made the reception of Christianity possible, in that the righteous or "saved" will experience goodness eternally after death. The historical fulcrum upon which this change in conception of angelic mediation of the presence and power of God seems to lie is a point in time between the *Book of Watchers* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, and is expressed in the change in orientation between the beginning and latter part of *Tobit*.

4.2.4.3 THE DIVINE STATUS OF RAPHAEL

In the latter part of chapter 12 pains are taken to assert that Raphael was a divine being, in that he did not eat or drink anything, and that he ascended to heaven when his task was completed (*Tob* 12.19, 20). The announcement that he is ascending is also present in the Hebrew text from Qumran. This is a fascinating detail which may be an early transitional stage in *merkabah* mysticism, in that he must be a divine being in order to ascend to heaven. Eskola (2001:203) noted the Jewish nature of the exaltation Christology in the *Letter to the Hebrews* (see chapter 7),[63] and this early instance of heavenly ascent in *Tobit*, with its strongly flavoured Jewish cultural context, confirms the connection of the ascent structure with a Jewish angelological tradition. Eskola examines (2001:142) the problem of deification in Jewish mysticism in terms of the divergent views of a divine angelic intermediary in pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic. According to the categories of Davis (1994:482) for God's "pre-eminent heavenly servants", Raphael clearly falls into the "Intervention" pattern (see 4.1.5.1). In *1 Enoch* 10.4-8 his function is to imprison the leader of the fallen angels, but in *Tobit* he has various functions (see 4.2.3). Ultimately his effective action in *Tobit* is the healing of Tobit and Sarah, in a present time, interventive capacity (although in disguise). Davis (1994:490) proposes that a combination of all three time patterns of mediation (past, present and future) may be

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[63] Eskola notes that under the influence of the History of Religions School, this ascent structure so clearly perceptible in the Letter to the Hebrews, was at first attributed to Gnosticism on the basis of the gnostic myth of the heavenly man.

characteristic of New Testament Christology generally. He then considers whether in Jewish literature a triple pattern of mediation appears in connection with any of the divine agent figures, and certainly finds this in Michael, but does not include Raphael. In terms of Raphael's function in *Tobit*, he provides Tobit with sight (light) (present time), and with a descendant (future). In addition he makes the promise that the temple (past) will be restored. These functions represent Second Temple Judaism ideals. The figure of Raphael is fascinating in terms of these associations with Israel's legacy, but because one cannot identify a definite "consummation" pattern in terms of New Testament Christology, Raphael's divinity cannot be considered to be anything more than that of an angel.

4.2.4.4 EARLY SIGNS OF *MERKABAH* MYSTICISM

Ideas of God's heavenly throne, God's majesty and holiness, the heavenly Temple and heavenly worship, have been identified as teachings of early Jewish *merkabah* mysticism (Eskola 2001:203).[64] When the book of *Tobit*, which has always been considered in terms of literary genre simply as a narrative, is read in the light of Eskola's findings, and its apocalyptic elements are considered, interesting links to *merkabah* mysticism emerge.

Skemp (2005:50-53) notes the relationship of certain features in *Tobit* and Revelation, and interestingly, these are all angelological aspects.[65] Skemp (2005:52) attributes these parallels to shared cultural intertexture. This must be partly true, but there may well be a closer relationship between *Tobit* and *Revelation*, especially in view of their shared semitic characteristics. The semitic origin of *Tobit* was only finally proved 50 years ago by the Qumran finds. When these aspects are considered, the narrative of *Tobit* begins to fall into place in the development of Jewish angelology. The question whether these early angelological ideas in relation to *merkabah* mysticism pave the way for the reception of

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[64] Especially noticeable in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.
[65] For example 1) "Finest gold" χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ in *Tob* 1.16 (G II and G I) is essentially the same phrase as those which occur in Rev 21:18-19, 21, and can be related to the allusions to gold or even *hashmal* in earlier texts discussed in chapters 2 and 3.
2) The supernatural instruction to compose the text.
3) The number of seven angels (*Tob* 12.15) is also mentioned in Rev 8:2 (cf. Rev 1:4 and 4:5).
4) The description of the angels standing at the throne of God is also found in Rev 4:5 and 8:2.
5) Angelic refusal of obeisance.
6) Angels as mediators of prayers in God's presence is also found in Rev 8:3-4.

New Testament Christology amongst the first Jewish converts to Christianity is addressed in chapter 7.

4.2.5   CONCLUSION

It seems that long before the time of the "final straw" of the destruction of the Second Temple, the change of direction for the future development of the Jewish idea of angelic mediation had already been conceived. After the subsequent historical event of persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, a radical change took place - full blown Jewish apocalypticism, in combination with *merkabah* mysticism, but this is only tentative in *Tobit.* If Fitzmyer's identification of Middle Aramaic in the period 200 BCE-100 CE and the current scholarly dating of the *Book of Watchers* and the *Epistle of Enoch* is accepted, then it could be possible that *Tobit* only reached its final stage (except for possible Christian redaction) in the Seleucid period (200-167 BCE). It seems that the writing of the *Book of Tobit* is situated at and marks this crucial turning point - it dates to after the writing of *Book of Watchers*[66] but before the writing of the *Epistle of Enoch*, and (contra Fitzmyer) also before the writing of Daniel. It was easily adaptable to the transitional views of Enochian Judaism (that the Temple was no longer necessary for worship), which developed from *the Book of Watchers* through the *Epistle of Enoch* to Christianity. Thus *Tobit* is a prime example of a Jewish angelological text which represents the cross-currents of the different streams of Jewish religious concerns during a period of extreme political upheaval.

The naming and functions of Raphael in the *Tobit* narrative betray a post-exilic setting. The only angelic motif of those identified in chapter 3 and *Book of Watchers*, is that of the throne of God, alluded to in two places. The deuteronomistic concept of theodicy, in which communal guilt is understood as the reason for punishment for righteous Jews, is expressed in the beginning of *Tobit*. However, a possible shift from deuteronomistic thinking is discernable at the end in *Tob* 13.13, 14, where hints of an incipient apocalypticism and the related concept of *merkabah* mysticism is present.

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[66] Nickelsburg (2003:12) sees the *Book of Watchers* as the earliest Jewish apocalypse, and dates it to c. 315 BCE.

The clear difference between the setting of the narrative and the actual time of writing suggests that the motive for writing was to overcome the "cognitive dissonance" of the longstanding persecution of the Jews, be it the exile or during the hellenistic period, and to effect a transition to a concept of a mobile God in contrast to the seating of God in the holy of holies in the centralised temple. This motive seems to be congruent with the direction in which Jewish angelology took in its development as traced this far. A trajectory from the *Book of Watchers* through Enochian Judaism and Essenism to Christianity is recogniseable. Where the angel Raphael travels with Tobiah without revealing his divine identity, yet provides protection from harm, and healing in the end, it seems that in spite of various side issues which seem to have been interposed through the ages, the narrative of *Tobit* was written in the context of the seminal apocalyptic concept that the temple could be replaced by a new concept of the presence of God, but in *Tobit* that was not yet fully focused on God's throne in heaven.[67] The divine status of Raphael betrays echoes of Christian phrases, for example in the specifying that Raphael did not actually eat or drink anything, (intimating that he is an angel), and that he ascended to heaven when his task was completed on earth. This highlights the possibility that Christian redaction took place in the Book of *Tobit*.

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[67] In Ez 10:18 the throne of the cherubim had no Ark and moved about with the celestial chariot, the *merkabah*. Rowland interprets this as enabling the figure to act as an agent of the divine purpose. The ark had been a seat for the journeying king-god from very early days, and when this was placed in the tabernacle, God was believed to be seated on his *cherubim* throne in the holy of holies. In Ezekiel's *Merkabah* imagery, the concept of the enthroned God is central, but at the end of his vision of the divine throne-chariot, in 10:4, Ezekiel sees the *kabod* moving from above the *cherubim* to another part of the Temple. What has happened is that the form of God has been separated from the divine throne-chariot to act as quasi-angelic mediator (Rowland 1982:95-97).

4.3 SECTION 3. THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The combination of thread A and B is in evidence in Daniel's throne visions in Dan 7:9-14 and 10:5-6, and these passages reflect early elements of *merkabah* mysticism.

4.3.1 ORIGIN, DATE AND TEXT-CRITICAL ISSUES

Until the 19th century there was general acceptance that the historical time setting in the stories of the Book of Daniel, i.e. the Babylonian exile, was the time of composition (Lucas 2002:306).[68] Currently a Maccabean date (167-163 BCE) is generally accepted, largely because of historical inaccuracies in the text, and possible hidden allusions in the text to the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes IV (Collins 1993a:61). Lucas points out that this does not provide an adequate ground for a late dating of the book because there is no conclusive evidence for these claims. According to him (Lucas 2002:314) there is growing concensus that the stories originate from the Diaspora in the Persian period (550-330 BCE) because the stories appear to commend "a lifestyle for Diaspora". Evidence for the Persian period, is that there are 19 Old Persian loanwords in Daniel, deriving from before 300 BCE, but only three Greek loan words[69] in spite of the fact that Greek contact is known from the 8th century BCE onwards. Scholars generally assume that the implied setting of the visions is Judea, but Lucas (2002:315) suggests that the whole book originated in the eastern diaspora because of the strong connection with Mesopotamia apparent in the visions and in the stories. The ethos of the visions is very different from that of the stories, yet they are organically linked by devices such as the symbolism of opposites: heaven/earth; winds/sea; and the symbolism of the numbers four, three, seven and ten. All these symbols appear in *the Book of Watchers* as well.[70] The apocalyptic world view of the visions can be seen as a development from the

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[68] Porphyry (232-c.305 CE) was an exception. He wrote 15 books entitled *Against the Christians* and could apparently not entertain the possibility of predictive prophecy in Daniel. He worked out that Daniel was written in the second century BCE (Lucas 2002:306). His aptitude for logical reasoning is witnessed to in his *Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle*, which became the textbook of logic in the schools of the Middle Ages (Ferguson 1993:369).

[69] These are specialised terms for musical instruments in Dan 3:5: κιθάρας, ψαλτηρίου, and συμφωνίας.

[70] Beckwith (2002:79) has noted the "remarkably close relationship" between the *Book of Watchers* and Daniel.

worldview of the stories, and in addition, the way the vision of chapter 7 develops the history of the dream interpreted in chapter 2 shows that the stories and visions are linked, i.e. chapters 2 to 7 at least, present a unified whole. Once again, the question of the apperceptive mass of the author comes to the fore. Because it has strong affinities with *Book of Watchers*, *Tobit*, and with Ezekiel 1 and 10, the origin of Daniel could be earlier than the Maccabean date, even if the last reworking was during the Maccabean period. However, as with *Tobit*, a close look at the angelology provides more clues as to its "location within the stream of history."

The LXX of Daniel, which was edited by Rahlfs and Ziegler in the Göttingen edition in 1954 presents two versions of Daniel:

a)   The reconstructed Old Greek. The two extant mss of the whole of Daniel were used in this reconstruction: i) Chisian (Chigi) no. 88, and ii) the translation of Origen's Hexapla into Syriac (Syh) in 615-617 CE, plus fragments of the third century CE Pap. 967, which is definitely the more accurate witness to the original OG text (Lucas 2002:19).

b)   Theodotion - one of the early revisions of the Septuagint, closely aligned to the MT. It is used in Codex *Vaticanus* and is edited by Ziegler in the Göttingen edition of 1954, and is probably a recension from OG to a proto-MT. McLay (1996:11) suggests that Theodotion translated his *Vorlage* more or less independently of OG, and only consulted the OG occasionally when confronted with a difficult passage.[71] In the discussion below, the cited text will always be MT in the first instance.

On the whole, the evidence from the Qumran texts confirms the antiquity of the textual tradition of the MT of Daniel (Collins 1993a:3). The manuscripts from Qumran do not

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[71] Below are some of the guidelines adapted from Montgomery (1927:56-57) which Lucas (2002:21) presents for current text-critical use:
1) In general, the older the version the greater its interest, and perhaps its authority. However, account must be taken of the interdependence of various versions, which means that groups of versions are to be taken as a single witness, and differences within such groups are worth close inspection.
2) The combination of OG + Th against the MT is weak, since Th may depend on the OG.
3) Where the members of the pair disagree, OG readings are always to be respected against Th (though it must be remembered that Th sometimes preserves OG readings no longer extant in the OG witnesses).
4) The combination MT + OG is to be taken very seriously.
5) The combination 4Q Dan Ms (S) with OG against the MT, or with MT + Th, must be taken seriously.

witness to any significant variants, and the change from Hebrew to Aramaic at 2:41 and back at 8:1 is attested in the Qumran texts.[72] According to McLay (1996:11) the OG text itself and the extant mss from Qumran are very close to MT.[73] The presence of four copies of the final form of the book of Daniel at Qumran contributes to the impression that this book was well received and never fell into disfavour at Qumran.[74] This is reinforced by the fact that the book of Daniel is cited in 4Q246 which seems to be sectarian. 4Q246, *Apocryphe de Daniel ar*, the "Son of God" text, contains phrases that correspond exactly to Daniel.[75]

Lucas (2002:175,176), Collins (1993a:293), and Otzen (1992:119) regard the Canaanite mythology in Daniel 7 as having been mediated through earlier biblical material, thus expressing a distinctively Israelite understanding of Yahweh's rule and purposes. For instance Psalms 82 and 89:7, which describe God as presiding in the Council of the Holy Ones, provide a crucial link between the mythology from Ugarit and the imagery of Daniel 7. Most striking is Ps 89:19-20 in which יהוה gives kingship and everlasting dominion to the Davidic ruler as the ultimate King of Israel.[76] Iconographical motifs of the throne-vision of Ezekiel 1 and 10 such as the lapiz lazuli or sapphire platform upon which the throne rests, and the gleam of amber surrounding the figure on the throne, have been traced to Mesopotamian sources. Annus (2002:189) claims that "Jewish, and subsequently Christian, apocalyptic is heavily indebted to Mesopotamian literature. In the book of Daniel, there is verbally nothing which does not have a parallel in Mesopotamian

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[72] Arnold (1996:9, 13) suggests that this switch to Aramaic is intentionally structured, rhetorically motivated, and up to Chapter 7, represents the point of view of the narrator. Even in Chapter 7 Daniel's first person description is quoted by a third person, but in 7:28 this comes to an end as does the Aramaic: "As for me, Daniel ...". From here on Daniel is the narrator and the language switches back to Hebrew.

[73] The following four copies of the final form of the book of Daniel were found in three caves at Qumran: IQ 71-72 (classical script); 4QDaniel a-e, ranging in date from 100BCE to 50 CE; 6Q 7 (c. 50 CE). Two Pseudo-Daniel texts from Qumran dating to the early first century CE are extant, but appear to be largely independent of biblical Daniel (Collins 1998b:196).

[74] Collins notes (1992:466) that allusions to Dan 7:13, 14 are conspicuously absent at Qumran. VanderKam (2000:120) has noted that the passage about resurrection in Daniel 12:2-3 is also conspicuously absent despite heavy uses of other parts of Daniel.

[75] Collins (1998b:196) judges that this text depends on the Biblical Daniel text, and is possibly the earliest instance of the messianic interpretation of Daniel 7. However, Dunn (1997:209) contests this and on the basis of his reading of this text claims that 4Q246 "provides no support for the thesis that the Danielic man-like figure was understood as an individual being, messiah or angel, in the period prior to Jesus".

[76] "I have set the crown upon one who is mighty, I have exalted one chosen from the people."

literature. Daniel as a combination of Jewish apocalyptic has been written by an expert in Babylonian traditions."[77] Annus (2002:189) is in agreement with Collins and Otzen (see below) that the Prince of the heavenly host in the book of Daniel and at Qumran came to be identifed with Michael from the first century CE onwards. He goes so far as to state that the Babylonian god Ninurta is the equivalent of the archangel Michael, who was sometimes equated in early Christianity with Hermas, who was in turn equated with the "Son of God", who coalesces with the heavenly scribe Enoch-Metatron, the "perfect man". The question of apperceptive mass and its source for the author of Daniel comes to the fore again in that the Mesopotamian iconographical material could have been mediated through Ezekiel 1 and 10, and possibly via the *Book of Watchers*. Nickelsburg (1991:195) understands the angelological problems of Daniel from the context of *I Enoch*: "Enoch is the hermeneutical key for the interpretation of Daniel 7 ... in the case of the "son of man" material, the shadow of Enoch is everywhere".

4.3.2 THE THRONES OF GOD IN DANIEL 7:9-14

Otzen (1992:117) comments that in Daniel chapter 7 the angelological problems are "great and many". In MT Dan. 7:9 the author describes how Daniel sees "an aged of days" take his seat on a throne. His garment is snow white, and his hair like pure (or lamb's) wool. The depicted scene is again that of the Divine Council, but the problem is that at 1.3 (see below) there is more than one throne, in all three versions. However, at 1.15 OG has singular "the throne", Theodotion has "his throne", and MT has "his thrones". The Persian word כרסיה is used here. Eskola (2001:155) makes a distinction between enthronement and deification, and therefore deduces that enthronement must have some other function. He recognises that "*merkabah* mysticism knows well the tradition of the enthronement of a pious Jew. … the enthroned ones will function and judge as *synthronoi theou*, while remaining human beings. However, the enthronement theme does not threaten monotheism or alter theocracy." The issue of what kind of divinity these figures possess is discussed again in chapters 7 and 8.

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[77] The description of the god Bel is a case in point: he is seated on a throne of lapis lazuli and is surrounded by the gleam of amber (Livingstone 1986:82f., cited by Annus 2002:191).

Dan 7:9 IN OG, Th, AND MT

	OG	Th	MT
1.1	ἐθεώρουν	ἐθεώρουν	חזה הוית
1.2	ἕως ὅτε	ἕως ὅτου	עד די
1.3	θρόνοι	θρόνοι	כרסון
1.4	ἐτέθησαν	ἐτέθησαν	רמיו
1.5	καὶ παλαιὸς	καὶ παλαιὸς	ועתיק
1.6	ἡμερῶν	ἡμερῶν	יומין
1.7	ἐκάθητο	ἐκάθητο	יתב
1.8	ἔχων περιβολὴν	καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ	לבושה
1.9	ὡσεὶ χιόνα	ὡσεὶ χιὼν	כתלג
1.10	-	λευκόν[78]	חור
1.11	καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα	καὶ ἡ θρὶξ	ושער
1.12	τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ	τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ	ראשה
1.13	ὡσεὶ ἔριον	ὡσεὶ ἔριον	כעמר
1.14	λευκὸν καθαρόν	καθαρόν	נקא
1.15	ὁ θρόνος	ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ	כרסיה
1.16	ὡσεὶ φλὸξ	φλὸξ	שביבין
1.17	πυρός	πυρός	די־נור
1.18	-	οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ	גלגלוהי
1.19	-	-	נור
1.20	-	πῦρ φλέγον	דלק: [79]
1.21	καὶ ἐξεπορεύτο	ποταμὸς πυρὸς	נהר די נור
1.22	κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ποταμὸς πυρός	εἷλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ,	נגד

NRSV translates MT as follows: As I watched, thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne, his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire. 10. A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him.

The mention of 'wheels' at 1.18 seems to be a deliberate allusion to Ezekiel 1, but it is striking that the word used in MT Dan 7:9b for wheel/wheels is not the customary *ophanim*, as in Ezekiel 1, but גלגלוהי the plural feminine form of the Aramaic word

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[78] Pap. 967 transfers the adjective "white" to the hair (Collins 1993a:275).

גלגל used 3 times in the plural masculine form in Ezekiel 10.[80] It is reasonable that this Aramaic term should be used in an Aramaic passage, but why is it used in Ezekiel 10 and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*? Levey (1987:39, n.7) comments on גלגליהו in Ez 10:13 that "It is fascinating that the LXX of Ezekiel 10:13 also takes this word as a proper noun, vocalised *gelgel*, transliterated, not translated". The OG of Daniel has a minus here, and Theodotion uses οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ. This word הגלגל is translated as "the whirling wheels" in the NRSV in Ez 10:13. The insertion of the word "whirling" is remarkable and alerts one to the fact that the word *galgal* must carry more meaning than just wheels. This phenomenon at OG Dan 7:9 of the absence of translation of גלגליהו reinforces the impression gained at Ezekiel 10, that the Greek translations may have tried to eliminate the angelological associations of the *galgal*. The lexical connection of *galgal* appears in clearly angelological contexts in Ezekiel 10, *1 Enoch* 14.18, and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* This possibly indicates that the MT faithfully reflects the earlier Hebrew proto-MT, but that the OG translator of these passages may have been aware of subsequent developments with regard to possible associations of "magical" practice, and tried to eliminate allusions to such elements in connection with the throne of God in heaven.[81]

Fire and rivers of fire are a common element in biblical theophany accounts and this imagery is very rich in angelological association. Collins (1993a:275) notes that some versions of the OG have "the throne was like a moving flame of fire" (possibly taking "its wheels" as a word for "moving").[82] Thus here once again, a commentator inadvertently confirms or at least strengthens the hidden angelological content in the concept of the moving wheels as flashing fire, in that this could be understood as an introduction to the concept of streams of fiery angels flowing from the wheels in the sense of the motif of

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[79] "flashing fire", Peal Participle, *hapleg*.
[80] Also used at *1 Enoch* 14.18 and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* 4Q405Frg. 20 ii, line 10 (see chapter 3, part 2A).
[81] The similarity between the angelic activity at the throne of God and the *Chaldean Oracles* description of the same process in a Neoplatonic context is considered in chapter 6, part 3.
[82] Allen (1993:160 n.50) notes that the aramaic *glgl* refers to "a circle of brightness" and that in Dan 7:9 it has the same meaning.

"rivers of fire", as expressed in the following verse 10a.[83] This major angelological motif is discussed finally in chapter 8, after the manner of its appearance (or non-appearance) in subsequent texts has been considered.

4.3.2.1 THE COMING TOGETHER OF THREAD A AND B IN DANIEL 7:13

Daniel 7:13 continues the "visions of the night".

Daniel 7:13

	OG	Th	MT
1.66	ἐθεώρουν	ἐθεώρουν	חזה
1.67	-	-	הוית
1.68	ἐν ὁράματι	ἐν ὁράματι	בחזוי
1.69	τῆς νυκτὸς	τῆς νυκτὸς	ליליא
1.70	καὶ ἰδοὺ	καὶ ἰδοὺ	וארו
1.71	ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν	μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν	עם־עֲנָנֵי
1.72	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	שׁמיא
1.73	ὡς υἱὸς	ὡς υἱὸς	2)כבר
1.74	ἀνθρώπου	ἀνθρώπου	אנש
1.75	ἤρχετο	ἐρχόμενος	אתה
1.76	-	ἦν	הוה
1.77	καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς	καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ	3) ועד־עתיק
1.78	ἡμερῶν	τῶν ἡμερῶν	יומיא
1.79	παρῆν	ἔφθασεν	מטה
1.80	καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες	καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ	וקדמוהי
1.81	παρῆσαν αὐτῷ	προσηνέχθη	הקרבוהי:

NRSV: "I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him".

At 1.71-1.76 the MT literally translated, reads "with clouds of heaven like a son of man he came" (אתה הוה - Peal Part. m.s. continuous action). According to Lust (1978:68) the Hebrew *Vorlage* had על "upon" which was later translated into Aramaic as עם

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[83] Compare "rivers of light" נהרי אור at 4Q 405.15.2 and "streams of fire" שׁבולי אשׁ at 4Q 405.22.10. Collins (1993a:302) notes that נהר די נור "becomes a favourite motif in description of the divine throne from this time on", and that *I Enoch* 14:19 already has the plural "rivers of burning fire." The angelological implications of this phrase have been discussed in chapter 3 part 2A and chapter 4 part 1.

"with". The OG (ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶn) on the other hand, wished to identify the son of man with the "Ancient of Days" as being God, because (riding) "on the clouds" was known as a vehicle of the gods. According to Lust (1978:68) the OG version of Dan 7:13 is perfectly understandable against the background of its source, which is Ezekiel's vision of the chariot, especially Ezekiel 1:26, where God is on the throne (singular). Both Ezekiel 1 and OG Dan represent an older thinking, and a similar theology, which differs from that of the MT of Daniel and the Theodotion version, in that in the OG the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man" are the same figure.

Emerton (1958:238) suggests that in late Judaism the Son of Man was thought of as a heavenly being subordinate to YHWH, thus in the MT "One is described as coming *with* (italics mine) the clouds, and the other as an old man. … in the Ugaritic texts ... these descriptions belong to two distinct deities, Baal and El. This is all the more likely to be significant, because there is no other place in the Hebrew Bible where YHWH is described as looking like an old man. This suggests that the presence of two distinct divine figures may represent, not a late modification, but the original form of the myth" (Emerton 1958:239). The ambiguity of the OG of Dan 7:13 which identifies the two figures as one and the same is continued in Dan 10:5-6, and anticipates that found in Revelation (see chapter 7). In the OG the phrase "like a son of man" is followed by καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν ("And (one) like an aged of days came"), but where OG has "like an aged of days" Theodotion has ἕως τοῦ παλιοῦ ("and up to the aged"). MT also has "And up to the aged" (ועד־עתיק). Thus the MT of Daniel, and the Theodotion version make a distinction between the "Ancient of Days" who is on the throne, and the "Son of Man", thereby identifying the former as God and the latter as his Messiah (Lust 1978:68). However, in the OG version Daniel sees God as "one in the likeness of a man", sitting on "the likeness of a throne" - the "Son of Man" and the "Ancient of Days" are the same.[84]

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[84] When, at a later period, "the Son of Man" becomes a title for an individual in *I Enoch* 37-71 (*Book of Parables*, dated to the late first century BCE), there seems to be a reference back to Dan 7:13, but Collins states (1993:304, 305) that this later development should not be read back into the use of the phrase in Daniel: what Daniel sees is simply "one like a human being" the figure may or may not represent something other than a human being. Dunn (1997:200) points out that the understanding of Israel as the

Stuckenbruck (1995a:269) notes that a series of corruptions in the text which boil down to the identifying of the two figures as one, may have started in the original translation. He points out (1995a:268) that Montgomery in his 1927 commentary attributed the appearance of ὡς instead of ἕως in this passage to a scribal error, and that may have been how it came about that the OG version of Dan 7:13 closely identifies "one as a Son of Man" with the "Ancient of Days". Lust (1978:62-64) however, points out that Ziegler corrected the second ὡς to ἕως from Rahlfs before Ms 967 was available,[85] and he believes that the OG version did wish to identify the "Son of Man" with "Ancient of Days" - he is God. Stuckenbruck (1995a:275) suggests that the more plausible understanding is that "the humanlike figure, though not necessarily the *same being* as God, is *funtionally identical* to God as God's heavenly representative in judgement and accordingly, becomes the recipient of like honour". Rowland (1982:96, 98) confirms that the OG implies that the "Ancient of days" is one and the same figure as "one like a son of man", and suggests that the enthroned "likeness of a man" (Ezekiel 1:26-27), and the humanlike "deity" apart from the throne in Ezekiel 8:2-3, reflect a gradual separation of divine functions, which becomes the source of inspiration for the designation of God's authority to the "Son of Man" figure in Dan 7:14. However, the temporal priority of the idea of the separation of divine functions in the Ugaritic context and in Ez 8:2-3 suggests that the MT represents the older version as does the Theodotion in this instance and that the OG Daniel tendency to coalesce the two figures may be a later development. The ancient Egyptian concept of the combination of Osiris and Horus on the throne may be an operative factor even here. The above mentioned contradictory possibilities are in line with the generally ambiguous character of Jewish angelology and facilitate the transition

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crown and point of creation is a fairly common theme in Jewish writing of the Second Temple period. This would confirm the idea of "one like a human being" as a symbolic figure representing the "(people of) the holy ones of the Most High", analogous to the way beasts represent kingdoms. According to Lucas (2002:184) the Hebrew words *adam* and *enosh* and their Aramaic cognates, can be used collectively for "humankind" but any individual human being can be a "son of man". In Ezekiel the prophet is addressed 93 times as *ben adam*, but very seldom used anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. In Ps 8:5 *ben adam* is used in poetic parallelism with *enosh*, while in Ps 144:3 *ben enosh* is used in parallel with *adam.*

[85] Lust (1978:65) considers the suggestion that the second ὡς could be understood as a particle introducing a temporal clause and the following καί as introducing the apodosis: "when (ὡς) the Ancient of Days arrived, then (καί) the bystanders were present before him", but he claims that the particle ὡς is never used with a temporal connotation in a visionary context - it is always comparative, and it is very unlikely that in two parallel sections of the same sentence ὡς might have two different meanings.

in early Christianity to the worship of Jesus in a monotheistic Jewish context (see chapter 7).

To summarise, Lust (1978:68) suggests that the OG theology of identifying the Ancient of Days with the "Son of Man" corresponds to that of Ezekiel's visions, which he considers its source, but in the MT and the translations dependent on it, the "Ancient of Days" and the "Son of Man" are split into two distinct figures, representing respectively God and his Messiah (Lust 1978:69).[86] This view was taken over by the apocryphal books, especially *I Enoch* 46 (*Book of Parables*). To avoid confusion, they used "with" the clouds, not "on" because "on the clouds" was a prerogative of God, not his Messiah.

Three main interpretatons of this text (Collins 1997b:184) are thus:

i)   Some ancient interpreters read the Old Greek translation as implying that the "ancient one" and the "one like a son of man" are the same, but this is incompatible with the MT.

ii)   Monotheistic theologians interpret the "one like a son of man" as a symbol for Israel.

iii)   The Ancient One is the God of Israel, and the "one like a son of man" is a "super angel" (Collins 1992:449, 451).

Collins argues that although elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, a figure riding on the clouds is always the Lord, the God of Israel, here in Daniel, the second heavenly figure, the rider on the clouds, is most plausibly identified as Michael - who is introduced later in the book as "the prince of Israel". Otzen (1992:121, 122) also sees the "Son of Man" as Michael, at the same time symbolizing the Kingdom of God and representing Israel, ie. the people of the Saints of the Most High. This view brings together the major problems of ambiguity, deification and heavenly ascent and the question of the relation and difference between angels and humankind in this respect. Rowland (1982:97, 98) points

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[86] Mullen (1980:161) sees a parallel in this situation where the "Son of man" is a separate figure, distinct from his position before the "Ancient of Days" in the council, in the situation described in *KTU* 2.1.21 where "Baal was standing beside El". When the cult of Baal began to replace El's cultus in the popular religion, El was still worshipped as the father and creator of the gods.   El stood as a transition figure

out that both Ezekiel 8:2 and Daniel 7:13 refer to heavenly figures and speak of them in quasi-divine terms: "In the Ezekiel passage this divine status is determined by the similarity which exists with the theophany in chapter 1:26f., whereas in the latter the bestowal of universal rule on the Son of Man is an indication of the fact that he acts as God's vice-regent." The Danielic figure is in some sense the representative of God, the Ancient of Days, but in Ezekiel 8 the figure is to be regarded as the deity himself, described in human form. This ambiguity is similar to that of the angel of YHWH being indistinguishable from God himself in various places in the Old Testament (mentioned in chapter 2), clearly to be seen in 'the man clothed in linen" in Daniel 10:5-6.

4.3.3   THE VISION IN DAN 10:5b-6

The setting of the description of the court scene in Dan 7:9-10 is interpreted by Mullen (1980:160) as revealing the identity of the "Ancient of Days" as a reflection of an Ugaritic context where the god El, the "Father of Years" sits enthroned, surrounded by other gods in the pantheon. The description of his hair, "white as wool", recalls the literary and iconographic representations of El who is described in the Ugaritic texts as having grey hair and a beard. Collins (1992:450; 1993a:291) agrees with Mullen in identifying the Ugaritic texts as the actual source on which the author of Daniel 7 drew, even though they are a thousand years older (see chapter 2 n. 2). The transmission via Syro-Phoenicia of Egyptian religious concepts (see Appendix 2) regarding the divinity of the pharaoh has been outlined in chapter 2 part 2. Here in Dan 10:5 and 6 the vision does not mention a throne, but has similarities with the figure on the throne described in Ez 1:27. The significant motifs in this passage are the "fine gold of Uphaz" (this could possibly be equated with *hashmal*), beryl, face like lightning, eyes like lamps of fire, and particularly interesting at 4:23-24: נחשת קלל polished brass. The allusions to gold and bronze recall the description of El in the Ugaritic texts.[87] These motifs also appear with

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between the older theogenic gods and the younger cosmogenic gods. The kingship of El and Baal was complementary, not competitive (Mullen 1980:110).

[87] E.g. the implements made of smelted gold and silver, i.e. *hashmal* (see the Excursus in 3.1.2.1).

the Egyptian throne,[88] and have been encountered in chapter 3 in the description of Ezekiel's vision, and in Enoch's dream vision of the throne of God in heaven.

In verses 5 to 6 Daniel describes his vision as "... a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz" (KJV). His body was like beryl, his face like the appearance of lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like the gleam of burnished bronze, and the sound of his words like the noise of a multitude".

Dan 10:5, 6

	OG	Th	MT
2.5	ἄνθρωπος εἷς	ἀνὴρ εἷς	אִישׁ־אֶחָד[89]
2.6	ἐνδεδυμένος	ἐνδεδυμένος	לָבוּשׁ
2.7	βύσσινα	βαδδιν	בַדִּים
2.8	καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν	καὶ ἡ ὀσφὺς αὐτοῦ	וּמָתְנָיו
2.9	περιεζωσμένος	περιεζωσμένη	חֲגֻרִים
2.10	βυσσίνῳ,	ἐν χρυσίῳ	בְּכֶתֶם[90]
2.11	- + καὶ ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ φῶς +[91]	Ωφαζ,	אוּפָז:
v.6:			
2.12	καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ	καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ	וּגְוִיָּתוֹ
2.13	ὡσεὶ θαρσις,	ὡσεὶ θαρσις	כְתַרְשִׁישׁ
2.14	καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ	καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ	וּפָנָיו
2.15	ὡσεὶ ὅρασις	ὡσεὶ ὅρασις	כְּמַרְאֵה
2.16	ἀστραπῆς,	ἀστραπῆς,	בָרָק[92]
2.17	καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ	καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ	וְעֵינָיו
2.18	ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες	ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες	כְּלַפִּידֵי
2.19	πυρός,	πυρός,	אֵשׁ
2.20	καὶ οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ	καὶ οἱ βραχίονες αὐτοῦ	וּזְרֹעֹתָיו
2.21	καὶ οἱ πόδες	καὶ τὰ σκέλη	וּמַרְגְּלֹתָיו
2.22	ὡσεὶ	ὡς ὅρασις	כְּעֵין
2.23	χαλκὸς	χαλκοῦ	נְחֹשֶׁת
2.24	ἐξαστράπτων	στίλβοντος	קָלָל
2.25	καὶ φωνὴ	καὶ ἡ φωνὴ	וְקוֹל

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[88] In this instance the question of the source of the iconographical imagery is probably only solveable in terms of the conception of the "seamless robe" that the Ancient Near East was during the first millennium BCE, combined with the obvious influence of Babylonian iconography during Ezekiel's exile.
[89] Cf. Ez. 10:2, 3, 6, 7.
[90] Cf. Ez 1:27 - loins below either like "fire" or "man".
[91] There is a minus here, but in its place are the four words quoted between + signs.
[92] Cf. Ez 1:14.

2.26	λαλιᾶς αὐτοῦ	τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ	דבריו
2.27	ὡσεὶ φωνὴ	ὡς φωνὴ	כקול
2.28	θορύβου	ὄχλου.	המון:

The translation here of קלל as ἐξαστράπτων is discussed in 3.1.2.1, where it is suggested that this translation hints at angelic activity which is not necessarily reflected within the Theodotion version where the more reasonable and neutral term στίλβοντος is used. Because of the similarity of the description of this figure with that seated on the throne in Ez 1:27, it is not clear whether this is a theophany or an angelophany. The ambiguity of this figure is described with motifs which appear in the description of the figure of God on the *merkabah* throne, thus delicately continuing the problem of interpretation of Dan 7:9-13, as to whether the two divine figures actually represent one, or by implication, deification of the "one like a son of man".

4.3.4 DISCUSSION

The implications of the angelology of this text must be considered in relation to the question of angelic ambiguity. In Daniel the peculiar characteristic of Azariah's appearance in that he is always mentioned last may be another example of angelic ambiguity. The question arises whether in the LXX additions to Daniel he is not also intended to be an angel in disguise. Gabriel the interpreting angel is the only angel actually lexicalised by name in the Hebrew Bible (Dan 8:16),[93] whereas Michael (Dan 10:13) is called "the chief prince". It is striking that together these three symbolic quasi-angelic figures, Michael (combat against demons), and Gabriel (interpretation), in Daniel, and Raphael in *Tobit* (healing - Azariah in his human appearance), perform functions which Jesus is to perform on earth.[94] In Dan 10:16-21 Michael, the fighting angel, who is Israel's guardian angel appears as "the chief prince". In Dan 10:20ff. the battle on earth is reflected in the struggle at heavenly level between Michael and Gabriel on the one side,

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[93] Although he is not called an angel here, at Dan 9:21 he is again described as "the man Gabriel", but he is "in swift flight".   This seems to make his angelic status clear, yet he is called "the man" האיש.
[94] Daniel's two friends and Tobit and Sarah, in the act of repentance and confession during prayer are healed in the end through the angelic presence with them.

and the princes of Persia and Greece on the other.[95] In Daniel the angelological problems actually represent the solution to the problem of how, in a monotheistic context, Christ could be worshipped as God. The ambiguous mythological material of Daniel 7 and 10 only makes sense when seen in relation to two contexts, and in fact links them: that of the Egyptian concept of divine kingship contained in the mythology of Osiris and Horus outlined in chapter 2, and secondly the ascent structure perceptible in the Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation. In the former context, the two mythological figures of Osiris and his son Horus function in a complementary manner, linking heaven and earth, continued reign after death, and reign during earthly life. How this mythology pre-figured or at least contributed to the development of the ascent structure in the Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation is considered further in chapter 7. The question concerning exalted mediatoral figures in the heavenly world is whether certain pre-Christian divine beings said to have achieved some form of deification, for example Enoch, Raphael or Michael, actually wielded divine authority, or was it early Christians, who with hindsight, were responsible for a significant mutation of the beliefs of Second Temple Judaism about angels?[96]

4.3.5 CONCLUSION

Rowland (1982:98); Lust (1978:62-69); Halperin (1988:74-78), and Stuckenbruck (1995a:219; 1995b:274, 275) have discussed the seated figure, his throne, and the "son of man" figure in the Daniel vision on the basis of the author's use of the *merkabah* vision in Ezekiel I. Rowland (1994:504, 505) understands the function of ancient apocalypticism to be that of unveiling secrets about God and the universe, some of which

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[95] Here Otzen (1992:120) traces an "interior development", starting with Yahweh as Divine Warrior in the ancient Near East mythology from Ugaritic texts. According to him the figure of Michael must be seen as a development of the Prince of the Hosts of Yahweh who appears at Jos 5:13 and Num 22:23, and is also the angel of the Exodus. In Daniel 7, the "Saints of the Most High" (v. 21, 22, 25) are angels corresponding to the Host of Heaven (Otzen 1992:117), but in Daniel 8 the phrase "People of the Saints of the Most High" refers to Israel. The "Son of Man" is an angelic figure connected with the Saints of the Most High, someone who *looks like* a human being, i.e. the Jewish opposite to the "princes of the nations" (the Princes of Persia and Greece mentioned in chapter 10).

[96] Collins notes (1992:466) that allusions to Dan 7:13, 14 are conspicuously absent at Qumran. VanderKam (2000:120) has noted that the passage about resurrection in Daniel 12:2-3 is also conspicuously absent despite heavy uses of other parts of Daniel. This would imply the non-acceptance of the concept of resurrection at Qumran, but compare the discussion on this subject by Dimant in Chapter 3, part 2B, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, where Dimant finds evidence of a belief in resurrection, possibly even in a physical sense.

relate to the future, offering a higher perspective on reality. In an apocalypse, what happens in heaven corresponds to what happens, or will happen on earth, hence Michael's battle in Daniel. An apocalypse must necessarily speak about the future "viewed in the light of the God who now reigns and will be seen to reign on earth". The apocalyptic tone of Dan 7:9-14 culminates in full blown apocalypticism in verse 14 which changes from Perfectum passive: "dominion, glory and kingship was given to him", to Peal Imperfectum: "all nations and languages will fall down before him; and his dominion (is) an everlasting dominion that will not pass and his kingdom is a kingdom that will not perish".

A comparison of the motifs tabulated in Charts C 2 and 3 in 8.1 suggests that the connection between apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism in Daniel may have been mediated via *I Enoch,* but it is striking that Daniel does not mention *cherubim,* whereas *Book of Watchers* does. *Hashmal* is not mentioned in *Book of Watchers*, or directly in Daniel, but it is possible that the reference to "the fine gold of Ophaz" in Daniel 10:5 may be functioning as an equivalent, but this possibility should probably be rejected because there is no lexical connection. Daniel's throne vision in Dan 7:9-14 specifies more than one throne. This, taken in the context of the MT and Theodotion version, implies two separate divine beings. In the vision of the divine figure in 10:5, 6 the motif of throne is absent, but the motif of fire in the form of "eyes like lamps of fire" is present. *Book of Watchers* is clearly a link between the texts of chapter 3 and the last two texts of chapter 4. The development of angelological ideas seems to indicate that these texts are in a diachronic sequence.[97] In comparing the texts of chapter 4, it is apparent that *I Enoch* and Daniel contain the motifs of fire/sun, but not *Tobit* unless the motif of "light" is considered equateable to "sun". All three contain the motif of "throne". These two main motifs of "throne" and "fire/sun" are always in some or other angelological context, and almost always in combination with each other. *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, *Tobit*, and Daniel do not allude to the mysterious angelogical motif of *hashmal*, and except for *Book of Watchers*, not to *cherubim* either. The absence of *merkabah* angelological motifs in

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[97] This may be an indication that the copies found at Qumran were composed before the Qumran settlement.

Tobit is striking, yet it has a major angelic figure of Raphael playing a prominent and vital role in the narrative. It seems as though Raphael has emerged from the lack of specification of individual angels in earlier texts, to become what can almost be seen as a forerunner of one aspect of Jesus, as healer. The angelology of Daniel seems to be an intermediate Jewish stage in the preparation for the concept of Jesus as an ambiguous divine figure who is actually one (united) with God on his throne in heaven.

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CHAPTER 5

THE HELLENISTIC CONNECTION:

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA (ca.20 BCE-ca.50 CE)

"What, therefore, has Jerusalem to do with Athens? The answer, in our context, is that Alexandria has to do with them both." (Runia 1986:4).

5.1 INTRODUCTION: THE PLATONIC BACKGROUND

The latest of the Jewish texts of chapter 4, *Daniel*, reveals contact with Hellenism. In that instance it is certainly a negative reaction to Hellenism, but in this chapter the influence of hellenistic philosophy will be seen to have been catalytic, in that it provided the fulcrum on which Jewish angelology swung towards the path to Christianity.

Philo's description of angels is scattered throughout his writings and is fairly consistent. His understanding of angels is reflected in his exegesis of certain texts in Genesis, and although his primary interest is the law of Moses, in Philo's writings one can see the decisive effect that Hellenism had on the course of subsequent development of angelology. Alexandria was "a point of confluence for peoples (and their religious tradition) from Egypt and the entire Near East" (Runia 1986:32). Jews from Palestine had settled in Alexandria from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, but according to Philo (*Mos.* 2.38-40) in the translating of the Torah into Greek for example, the Jews of Alexandria remained loyal to their πάτρια ἔθνη (Runia 1986:33)**.** Part of Philo's corpus was written at the time of the Jewish revolt against Gaius Caligula in Alexandria during 38-41 CE (Runia 2001:xii), therefore not surprisingly, Philo addresses the problem of theodicy. In a monotheistic context the question of theodicy raises the issue of angelology. Hellenistic philosophy was dominant amongst Alexandrian intellectuals, and Philo's concept of the functioning of angels can be seen as an attempt at a solution to the problem of the perceived distance between God and mankind.

According to Dillon (1977:174) Philo's thought is essentially Middle Platonic[1] in orientation.[2] The return to Plato and Aristotle in Alexandria in c. 50 BCE was the beginning of Middle Platonism. The Middle Platonists exalted the "absolute transcendence" of God as the Supreme Mind, or Intellect, thus God could only be reached through intermediaries (Dillon 1977:29), conceived of as a 'chain of beings'. In line with this tradition, Philo conceived of the air as being filled with a host of pure souls/demons/angels. For Philo "the idea that the heavens are full of angels assures human beings of contact with the sphere of the divine, if only its periphery" (Himmelfarb 1991:90). The Middle Platonists understood the universe to be animated by a World Soul, which is the supreme mediating entity, receiving influences from the intelligible realm and passing them on, in an extended or diversified form, to bring about the creation of the sensible realm. The roots of Middle Platonism are to be seen in Xenocrates, Plato's student and head of the Academy from 339 to 314 BCE. Xenocrates visualised a three-tiered universe,[3] and visualised the three-fold composition of man as intellect, soul and body, each part derived from sun, moon and earth respectively, which mirrors the hierarchy "god – daemon – man" (Schibli 1993:144-147, 166). The "intelligible" and "sensible" realms were defined by Xenocrates respectively as the supercelestial, invariable, invisible realm, and the physical realm of sense perception (Schibli 1993:143). The construction of the World Soul is described in Plato's *Timaeus* 34A ff., and is based on the properties of the *Tetraktys* - the first four numbers. These are viewed as principles which provide the link between the absolute unity of the One (the totally transcendent first principle), and three-dimensional physical multiplicity. In this system, One is the point, Two the line, Three the triangular plane, and Four the solid (the four-planed three-dimensional pyramid). This concept goes some way toward explaining the transition

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[1] Middle Platonism was influenced by Stoicism, Aristotelian logic and Neopythagorean metaphysics. The Middle Stoic Posidonius (c. 135-c.50 BCE) may have influenced Philo in that he perceived a sympathetic relationship between all parts of the world, and conceived of it as a 'chain of being', involving beings intermediate between the human and divine realms. His proposal that the sun as the leading part of the universe is a 'life-giving force', as opposed to the original Stoic conception of the sun as a 'creative fire' (Ferguson 1993:341), is relevant to the discussion of the sun/fire motif in Jewish angelology.
[2] Runia contests this (1986:22, 507, 516, 519), mainly on the grounds that he did not apply Middle Platonic techniques of thought and had an "independence of mind".
[3] The "supreme" (ὕπατος) god Zeus resided beyond heaven in the unvariable and invisible realm of the intelligible. Heaven itself was the second tier, where the fiery stars are equated with the Olympian gods.

between transcendence and immanence as for example in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* where the numbers 3 plus 4 play a major role (see 3.2.2.1. n. 66).

Xenocrates' concept of a three-tiered hierarchy allowed him to speak of three corresponding existences (οὐσίαι), respectively the intelligible (νοητή), the opinionable (δοξαστή) which was heaven itself, and thirdly the sensible (αἰσθητή) sublunary realm where the daemons dwelt. The daemons who dwelt in the third, sublunary tier, were intermediaries who partake of both human affection (πάθος) and divine power (δύναμις). Their susceptibility to πάθη rendered certain daemons evil, consequently some daemons were good and some bad. Xenocrates assigned daemons to the middle position in the sequence "gods (angels/*Iynges*),[4] daemons (demigods-heroes), humans" (Baltes 2004:277).[5]

In *Timaeus* 42D ff., where Plato explains the concept of intermediaries between gods and humans, intermediaries are called daemons. Plato defined the daemon as halfway between gods and humans – a being that linked both groups.[6] Philo uses the terms

In the third tier, the sublunary world, dwelled the invisible daemons where there was a hypostasis of Zeus, a polar opposite to Zeus ὕπατος.

[4] The term "*Iynges*" is used in the *Chaldean Oracles* and will be seen to correspond to Philo's description of certain angels as obedient souls in the Jewish angelological context.

[5] In addition to the above classification, Xenocrates systematized demonology into three classes: a) permanently disincarnate beings, b) souls of the deceased (see Schibli 1993:155), and c) the soul, or accompanying intelligence "in" mankind. In *Timaeus*, where the soul is considered as tripartite, the relationship between the World Soul, the human soul, and daemons, is as follows:

a) Reason (λόγος), the divine, immortal part, is located in the head. (Xenocrates called this first part, νοῦς, and the second and third parts ψυχή. Collins (1998c:197), in the context of Stoic philosophy, equates the soul of the universe with the *pneuma* (which was conceived of as a living organism). This is described as a "fine, fiery substance which permeated and vivified all reality … an intelligent and fiery spirit, … the physical aspect of the Logos, the rational, active principle of the universe. Reason is a portion of this cosmic spirit, inserted into the human body"). *Timaeus* 90A describes the rational soul as "the highest part of the soul - a daemon given by God to each person". Thus at *Timaeus* 46D Plato puts into the mouth of Timaeus that "the one and only existing thing which has the property of acquiring thought is soul".

b) Spirit (θυμός), located high up in the thorax, near enough to the head to be able to listen to reason (τοῦ Λόγου κατήκοον), but also mortal.

c) Appetite (ἐπιθυμητικόν) which is irrational.

[6] The daemon as the immortal part of mankind corresponds to the ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς in Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27. Homer (c.800 BCE) had used the term "daemon" in the sense of an impersonal power and/or as the dispenser of individual events. Hesiod, who lived a little later than Homer, introduced the idea of heroes or "lesser gods" (local), who belonged to the underworld (Ferguson 1993:148). He classified rational beings as gods, daemons, heroes and people. By daemons he meant men of the golden age

daimones and *angeloi* more or less as synonyms. In *Gig.* 12-16 Philo states that angels, daemons and souls are really all the same thing (Dillon 1977:173). He equated both angels and daemons with individual souls that had purified their physicality and were supplied with divine *logoi:* they filled the air even though some eventually became "corporeal" (*Gig.* 6-16) (Hadot 2004:278).

Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26 - 27 and 2:7 can be seen to be related to Xenocrates' systematization of demonology, by his concept of μεθόριος as explained in *Op.* 135. However, the difference between Philo's understanding of daemons and that of Xenocrates' is that Xenocrates places daemons lower in his hierarchy than gods, but he equates gods with angels, whereas Philo equates angels with daemons.[7]

5.2 PHILO'S UNDERSTANDING OF ANGELS

> "Exegesis is at least a major aspect, if not the most significant component, of the elusive framework sought by scholars in order better to understand the development of ideas about angels in late biblical and post-biblical texts." Olyan (1993:11).

The following passages from Philo's corpus, all of which appear to have sprung from a Middle Platonic intellectual matrix, are referred to in discussion of Philo's views on angelological issues: *Op.* 69-75 and 134-139, *Leg.*1.31-32, *Plant.* II.14, *Somn* I.139, Selections from *Gig., Fug.* 68-70, *Cher.* 27-28, *Questions on Gen* II.62.

5.2.1 PHILO'S EXEGESIS OF GEN 1:26-27 AND 2:7

Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7 is reflected in *Op.* 69, *Op.* 134-139 and *Leg.* 1.31-32. His exegesis provides a vital link in the rationale of mediation between God and mankind. In *Op.* 69 Philo understands Gen 1:26a, "Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness'" (κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν), conventionally as meaning that the human being has come into existence after God's image and after His likeness. However, in his exegesis of v. 27, "So God created man in his own image in

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translated to blissful immortal life. His classification prepared the way for daemons to be considered as lesser divinities or heavenly intermediaries between the gods and human beings. In Plato's writings "daemons" is a generic term for divine intermediaries, but he also uses the term daemon for the highest and divine element in a person.

the image of God he created him; male and female he created them", he creates a bridge to Platonism:

ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν λέλεκται κατὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόνα νοῦν· ... ὃν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον ὁ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτον ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ·

" … it is in respect of the Mind, the sovereign element of the soul that the word 'image' is used; … for the human mind evidently occupies a position in men precisely answering to that which the great Ruler (ὁ μέγας ἡγεμών) occupies in all the world." [8] (*Op.* 69, trans. Colson and Whitaker (1927:55)).

In the Greek text cited above, Philo explains that God has bestowed his own intellect upon mankind in the form of the ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. Thus Philo interprets the term image (εἰκόνα) here to mean the soul's director or intellect; it is this specific aspect in which humankind stands in an image relation to God (Runia 2001:235). This concept explains the potential for divinity in the human.[9] I see it as the key to the idea of the human potential for access to heaven, and as providing the foundation for Philo's reason why the human intellect/mind yearns to ascend to heaven to be reunited with that of God.[10] The link is Philo's understanding of the soul as consisting of immortal and mortal parts, and his identifying of the angels of Moses as the daemons of the Greek philosophers, conceived as souls peopling the air, some of whom descend into matter to become humans (Dillon 1977:173). This concept demonstrates what a fine line exists in Philo's thinking between angels and human potential for deification in terms of the soul, and also between Philo's Jewish source for this exegesis, i.e. Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7 and Plato's tripartite concept of the soul as reflected in *Timaeus*.

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[7] Interestingly, this adjustment by Philo can be seen as a collapse of the first and second tier of Xenocrates' scheme similar to that described by Handy at Ugarit (see Appendix 1).

[8] Runia (2001:227) notes that the phrase ὁ μέγας ἡγεμών is used of Zeus in Plato's *Phaedrus* myth, 246e4. The only other place Philo uses it, is for the sun at *Op.* 116: "The sun, too, the great lord of the day" (ὁ τε μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἡμέρας ἥλιος).

[9] Cf. Bunta (2006:55, 56), who has drawn attention to the "terms and imageries" used in Second Temple and early rabbinic literature to describe Adam's special status as the image of God, based on "Adamic tradition".

[10] The concept of the ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς forms the basis of the Gnostic idea that salvation requires the reascent to God. This is discussed in chapter 6.

Philo's exegesis of Gen 2:7 complements the aspect of the ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, and this leads to the concept of μεθόριος which is the crucial quality necessary for intermediaries.

> "After this he [Moses] says that God[11] moulded the human being, taking clay from the earth, and he inbreathed onto his face the breath of life [Gen 2:7].[12] By means of this text too he shows us in the clearest fashion that there is a vast difference between the human being who has been moulded now [Gen 2:7] and the one who previously came into being after the image of God [Gen 1:27]. For the human being who has been moulded as sense-perceptible object [Gen 2:7] already participates in quality, consists of body and soul, is either man or woman, and is by nature mortal. The human being after the image [Gen 1:27] is a kind of idea or genus or seal (ἰδέα, νοητός, σφραγίς), is perceived by the intellect, incorporeal, neither male nor female and is immortal by nature" (*Op.*134, trans. Runia 2001:82).

In his Platonic view of Gen 1:27 as "idea" and Gen 2:7 as "physical Creation", Philo contrasts the differences between the human being formed in Gen 1:27 with that formed in Gen 2:7 as follows: the human formed in Gen 1:27 is an object of thought, whereas that in Gen 2:7 is an object of sense-perception. Pearson (1984b:325) sums it up as follows: "The former is an ideal type while the latter is empirical man, consisting of both mortal and immortal parts" (the latter by virtue of being "inbreathed" by God). Thus "the human being after the image" (Gen.1:26a) in *Op.* 134 is identifiable with the "heavenly human being" referred to in *Leg.*1.31-32:

> "There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man (οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος), the other an earthly (γήϊνος). The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; ... For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer (τοῦ τεχνίτου), but not his offspring" (*Leg.* I. 31-32, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929).

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[11] According to Fossum (1982:207) Philo here means the Demiurgos as opposed to the "Father and Director" (*Op.* 135). Runia (2001:326) makes a more nuanced distinction in that he does not see this statement as a distinction of two opposite persons, but rather of function: "the Craftsman fashions the body, the Father 'inbreathes' it with life and mind."

[12] Gen 2:7: "then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being" (NRSV).

The passage above raises two important points. Firstly, the "heavenly man" clarifies Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 as the foundational biblical text for anthropological doctrine, which was "massively influential" (Runia 2001:235).[13] Secondly, the concept of the earthly man as the product of the Artificer/Craftsman (τοῦ τεχνίτου) is another seminal concept in Gnosticism, and is discussed in chapter 6.

In *Op.* 139 Philo explains that

> "the human being has come into existence as its [the Logos's] likeness and representation by being inbreathed into the face (Gen 2:7), which is the location of the senses" (trans. Runia 2001:83). [14]

Runia (2001:330) sums up as follows: "the excellence of the first human's soul is established by an appeal to the divine Logos, of which he is a copy. [By contrast,] the model-copy relation is effectuated by the divine inbreathing into the face". Philo's exegesis of Gen 2:7 is complementary to his exegesis of Gen 1:26-27, and explains not only the concept of the longing of the soul to be re-united with God, but also provides the foundation of the development to an extreme in Gnosticism, to the concept of an ignorant and foolish demiurgos as for instance in the *Apocryphon of John.*

The exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7 provides the background to what Runia (2001:327) noted was Philo's frequent use of the term μεθόριος to denote the intermediate position of human beings in general. In *Op.* 135, Philo unifies the two accounts of the creation of man with this concept:

> "the sense-perceptible and individual human being has a structure which is composed of earthly substance and divine spirit, for the body came into being when the Craftsman took clay and moulded a human shape out of it,[15] whereas the

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[13] Bunta (2006:56) has drawn attention to the effect of juxtaposition of Gen 1:26, 27 and 2:7 in describing Adam's special status as the image of God by virtue of being the image and likeness, כדמותנו and בצלמנו, of God. He notes for example that the Jacob texts emphasise the dichotomy of humanity: "On the one hand the earthiness of the human body is associated with angelic opposition, and on the other, the body's divine likeness to angelic veneration."

[14] Here Colson and Whitaker's translation equates "Word" (λόγῳ) with "Reason": "… for the Creator, we know, employed for its making no pattern taken from among created things, but solely, as I have said, His own Word (or Reason)."

[15] Plato alludes to the creator god as ὁ δημιουργός in *Tim*. 28A6, but Runia (1986:107) notes that Plato was not the first Greek philosopher to describe γένεσις in terms of a craftsman-creator. This allusion to the Craftsman is made in the syncretistic Alexandrian context where the mythology of Kothar-wa-Khasis of

soul [Gen 1:27] obtained its origin from nothing which has come into existence at all, but from the Father and Director of all things. What he breathed in [Gen 2:7] was nothing else than the divine spirit which has emigrated here from that blessed and flourishing nature for the assistance of our kind, in order that, even if it is mortal with regard to its visible part, at least with regard to its invisible part it would be immortalized. For this reason it would be correct to say that the human being stands on the borderline between mortal and immortal nature (τὸν ἄνθρωπον θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως εἶναι μεθόριον). Sharing in both to the extent necessary, he has come into existence as a creature which is mortal and at the same time immortal, mortal in respect of the body, immortal in respect of the mind" (trans. Runia 2001:82).

This concept of the human being standing on the borderline between mortal and immortal nature, as contained in the term μεθόριος, is the crucial idea in Jewish angelology, because it indicates that humankind has the potential to be part of heaven as well as earth. This has fundamental and far-reaching implications for the concept of intermediaries, and particularly apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism.

5.2.2 ANGELOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PHILO'S ALLEGORICAL EXEGESIS OF GEN 6:4

The following passages demonstrate Philo's application of allegorical exegesis to explain the existence of evil and theodicy: *Plant.* II 14, *Somn* I. 139, *Gigantes, Op.* 72 –75, and *Fug. 68-70*. In his allegorical exegesis of Gen 6:4 (*Gig.* 60-67), Philo treats the *bene elohim* who descend to earth to mate with the daughters of men as an account of the descent of souls into bodies.[16] In *Plant.* II 14 Philo describes these beings as "Powers" which are

"wholly beyond apprehension by sense. This is the host of the bodiless souls. Their array is made up of companies that differ in kind. We are told that some enter into mortal bodies, and quit them again at certain fixed periods, while others, endowed with a diviner constitution, have no regard for any earthly quarter, but exist on high nigh to the ethereal region itself. These are the purest

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Ugarit (as related to that of Thoth as craftsman in Egypt) was still likely to have been part of general apperceptive mass of the Alexandrian context. Ugarit was destroyed in 1200 BCE, but its mythology has been demonstrated to live on a thousand years later in the book of Daniel (Mullen 1980:160; Collins 1992:450; Collins 1993a:291).

[16] As also in the interpretation of Jacob's dream (Gen 28:12), where the angels on the ladder are souls ascending and descending. Cf. Bunta (2006:56) who reports on targumic and exegetic "Jacob texts" which interpret this dream as representing the portal to a heavenly throne, with Jacob seeing his image engraved on a heavenly throne.

spirits of all, whom Greek philosophers call heroes, but whom Moses, employing a well-chosen name, entitles "angels", for they go on embassies bearing tidings from the great Ruler to His subjects of the boons which He sends them, and reporting to the Monarch what His subjects are in need of " (*Plant*. II 14, trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:219-221)).

The last three lines of the quotation above, provide the crucial connection between the living beings/cherubim of Ezekiel 1 and 10, Enoch's archangels, and the *Iynges* of the *Chaldean Oracles*, in that the "angels" are sent out from the "great Ruler" (τοῦ ἡγεμόνος)[17] and return to report to "the Monarch" (τῷ βασιλεῖ):

Μωυσῆς δὲ ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ χρώμενος ἀγγέλους προσαγορεύει, πρεσβευομένας καὶ διαγγελλούσας τά τε παρὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ ὑπήκοοι χρεῖοι.

At *Somn.* 1.139-141 Philo expresses the same idea about some of the "imperishable and immortal souls in the air", which

"longing for the familiar and accustomed ways of mortal life, again retrace their steps, while others pronouncing that life great foolery call the body a prison and a tomb, and escaping as though from a dungeon or a grave, are lifted up on light wings to the upper air and range the heights for ever. Others there are of perfect purity and excellence, fitted with a higher and diviner temper, that have never felt any craving after the things of earth, but are viceroys of the Ruler of the universe, ears and eyes, so to speak of the great king, beholding and hearing all things. These are called "demons" by the other philosophers, but the sacred record is wont to call them "angels" or messengers, employing an apter title, for they both convey the biddings of the Father to His children and report the children's need to their Father." [18] (*Somn.* 1.139-141, trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:373)).

As in *Plant*. II.14, the last two lines above contain the crucial transition here of the process of communication from God's throne in Ezekiel 1:14 to Philo's intellectual concept of angelic mediation. These two passages above express in essence the action or process described in Ez 1:14: "The living beings darted to and fro, like a flash of lightning" (NRSV), and also express the action of the *Iynges* in the Middle Platonic *Chaldean Oracles*: "they are couriers" (… διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες ...) (Frg. 78, quoted in chapter 6).

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[17] In the translation by Colson and Whitaker the 'great Ruler' and 'the Monarch' are synonyms.

[18] Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 202 E: καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ. Τίνα, ἦν δ' ἐγω, δύναμιν ἔχον; ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν.

5.2.3 PHILO'S CONCEPT OF OPPOSITES.

In *Gig*. 1 and 3 Philo raises the issue of opposites:

> "For when the rarity appears, its opposite always is found in abundance … And so it is only natural that the birth of just Noah and his sons should make evident the abundance of the unjust. That is the nature of opposites; it is through the existence of the one that we chiefly recognize the existence of the other" (*Gig*. 1, 3, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929: 447).

This concept of opposites is then followed up in *Gig*. 6 and 8 by an allusion to Gen 6:1-4, and specifically Gen 6:2:

> "And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took to themselves wives from all those whom they chose. It is Moses' custom to give the name of angels to those whom other philosophers call demons (or spirits), souls that is which fly and hover in the air. ... And so the other element, the air, must needs be filled with living beings, though indeed they are invisible to us, since even the air itself is not visible to our senses" (trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:449).

The concept of opposites gradually leads in *Gig*. 16b to the distinction between "worthy" angels as opposed to evil angels who choose to "court the pleasures which are born of men". This allusion to choice is possibly based on *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, especially as it is followed up in *Gig*. 17b. *Gig*. 12-13 provides "a remarkable passage in which Philo, with many echoes of Plato, speaks of the human soul as having descended from some higher region to be incarnate in the body" (Colson and Whitaker 1929:444):

> "Now some of the souls have descended into bodies, but others have never deigned to be brought into union with any of the parts of earth ... but the others descending into the body as though into a stream ... at other times have been able to stem the current, have risen to the surface and then soared upwards back to the place from whence they came" (trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:451)).

The description in *Gig*. 6-8 and 12-13 is a neutral (non-judgemental) description of the descent of souls into certain human bodies which does not directly ascribe the existence of evil to this incident, but in *Gig*. 16b the "unholy and unworthy" angels are mentioned:

> "And so, too, you also will not go wrong if you reckon as angels, not only those who are worthy of the name, who are as ambassadors backwards and forward between men and God (πρεσβευτάς τινας ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ

πρὸς ἀνθρώπους) and are rendered sacred and inviolate by reason of that glorious and blameless ministry, but also those who are unholy and unworthy of the title" (trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:453).

5.2.4 PHILO'S UNDERSTANDING OF GOD'S JUDGEMENT ON SIN

In an allegorizing way, Philo then relates the incident in Gen 6:1-4 to his explanation of the three types of soul. In *Gig.* 17a he quotes LXX Ps 77:49 (MT 78:49): "He sent out upon them the anger of His wrath, wrath and anger and affliction, a mission by evil angels", and then in *Gig.* 17b his exegesis alludes to Gen 6:1-4 in explaining that

> "These are the evil ones who, cloaking themselves under the name of angels, know not the daughters of right reason, the sciences and virtues, but court the pleasures which are born of men, pleasures mortal as their parents - pleasures endowed not with the true beauty, which the mind alone can discern, but with the false comeliness, by which the senses are deceived" (trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:455)).

At *Gig.* 17-19 Colson and Whitaker (1927:444, 445) understand Philo to mean that the term "the angels of God" includes God's spiritual messengers, but also the wicked souls, "those who are unholy and unworthy of the title" … "the evil ones who, cloaking themselves under the name of angels, know not the daughters of right reason," which woo the "daughters of men", i.e. the merely sensual pleasures:

> "they do not all take all the daughters, but some choose these, some those, out of the vast multitude. Some take the pleasures of sight, others those of hearing, others again those of the palate and the belly, or of sex … among such as these then it is impossible that the spirit of God should dwell ..." (*Gig.* 18-19, trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:455)).

It is difficult to decide whether the "anger of God's wrath" determined the mission by evil angels, or whether God was using the evil angels to punish the souls who make the wrong choice (because they "know not the daughters of right reason" i.e. the heavenly, spiritual way).[19] Two important things not directly mentioned, but implied, in both the Genesis creation story and Gen 6:1-4, are freedom of choice and the creation of angels. It may be that Philo was influenced by *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, because he ascribes free choice to the God-given human intellect (*nous*), with inevitable consequences for wrong

choice, i.e. sin. According to Philo in *Gig.* 17 the origin of evil angels must lie therein that the angels chose to desert from their God-given reason (λόγος) which is all good because it derives from God who is all good (cf. below). At *Gig.* 60 and 61 Philo explains that the purpose of the myth in Gen 6:1-4 is to make it clear that it is necessary to refuse

> "to accept membership in the commonwealth of the world and to become citizens therein, but [to rise] … wholly above the sphere of sense-perception and [be] … translated into the world of the intelligible and dwell there registered as freemen of the commonwealth of Ideas, which are imperishable and incorporeal."
> (*Gig.* 61, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:475).

> "So then, it is no myth at all of giants that he sets before us; rather he wishes to show you that some men are earth-born, some heaven-born, and some God-born"
> (*Gig.* 60, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:475).

Gen 1:26a also provides the solution for Philo to theodicy. In *Op.* 72 Philo states:

> "(Moses) ... introduces the Father of the universe as saying these words: "*let us make a human being after our image and likeness.*""

He then asks the question "Why was the human being not created by God alone?" He then explains in *Op.* 75 that the plural "let *us* make"

> "reveals the enlistment of others as collaborators,[20] so that whenever the human being acts rightly in decisions and actions that are beyond reproach, these can be assigned to God's account as universal Director, whereas in the case of their opposite they can be attributed to others who are subordinate to him. After all, it must be the case that the Father is blameless of evil in his offspring, and both wickedness and wicked activities are certainly something evil."[21] (trans. Runia 2001:66).

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[19] Cf. *I Enoch Book of Watchers* where good angels, i.e. "the watchers and holy ones" are sent to effect punishment on the "hard of heart".

[20] διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεώς φησιν ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς "ποιήσωμεν," ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει συμπαράληψιν ἑτέρων ὡς ἂν συνεργῶν. This quotation indicates that Philo has taken the phrase נעשה אלהים in MT Gen 1:26a as plural, "let us make" (LXX ὁ θεὸς ποιήσωμεν). This opens the way for the concept of the δεύτερος θεός.

[21] Philo in various places strongly asserts the goodness of creation and its creator:
  a) *Conf. Ling.* 180: " ...God is the cause only of what is good but is absolutely the cause of no evil whatsoever since he is the most ancient of all existing things, and the most perfect of all goods; … the punishments for the wicked are inflicted by the means of his subordinate minister."
  b) *Quaest. in Gn* II.62: "So much for this point, but it is well to have considered this truth also, that God is the cause of good things only and of nothing at all that is bad, since He Himself was the most ancient of beings and the good in its most perfect form".

In *Op.* 73-75 Philo indicates that man is of a mixed nature, and therefore "mind and reason are as it were the dwelling-place of vice and virtue", and thus Moses implied by "Let us make" that God had others as fellow-workers for the creation of man. In *Fug.* 68-70 Philo expresses the idea of *Op.* 75 very succinctly: man is "of a mixed nature", participating in both good and evil, but since the Father cannot be the cause of evil to his offspring, he must have had others to help him,

> " … because, alone among created beings, the soul of man was to be susceptible of conceptions of evil things and good things, and to use one sort or the other, since it is impossible for him to use both" (ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔμελλεν ἡ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μόνη κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἑτέραις, εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν ἀμφοτέραις) (*Fug.* 68-70, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929).

Fossum (1982:217) has suggested that in *Op.* 74 - 75 Philo is saying that the angels were the creators of the material body and that this was the source of evil according to the popular opinion in the Hellenistic world which ascribed the creation of man's lower soul to the angels or "Powers". Pearson (1984b:338) also points out that both Philo and the Gnostics interpret Gen 1:26 as attributing the responsibility for the creation of man's lower soul to the angels or "Powers" (this specific term being used by both Philo and the Gnostics). He ascribes this to the fact that both share common Hellenistic-Jewish traditions of Genesis-exegesis, both used the LXX text of Genesis, and the negative way in which the material body is viewed by both can be ascribed to a common Middle-Platonic milieu. On the other hand, Runia (2001:238) claims that this is a misreading of this text because "there can be no question of a substantial part of creation being attributed to malevolent powers or angels such as in the Gnostic myth. ... Philo strongly asserts the goodness of creation and its creator". However, Runia's evidence does not disprove that Philo believed that Gen 2:7 implies that the angels created man. Another problem arising out of the possibility that angels created man, is when were the angels created? The variety of opinions recorded in ancient texts about this question,[22] suggests

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c) *Cher.* 127: "Let us ... contemplate … this universe. We shall see that its cause is God by whom it has come into being, its material the four elements from which it was compounded, its instrument the Word of God through which it was framed, and the cause of the building is the goodness of the architect (*demiurgos*). "

[22] There is a variety of opinions on when the angels were created:

that there were far-reaching consequences for rabbinic, Gnostic and Christian hermeneutics.

5.2.5 PHILO'S UNDERSTANDING OF HEAVENLY ASCENT

In *Op.* 69-71 and *Cher.* 27-28 Philo describes the "soaring back upwards" to heaven as the heavenly ascent of the intellect of the human being:

> "the human mind evidently occupies a position in men (ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ) precisely answering to that which the great Ruler (ὁ μέγας ἡγεμών) occupies in all the world. It is invisible while itself seeing all things ..." (*Op.* 69, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:55).   "Its own nature is unclear, yet it comprehends the natures of other things. By means of the arts and sciences it opens up a vast network of paths ... and passes through land and sea, investigating what is present in both realms. Next it is lifted on high and, after exploring the air and the phenomena that occur in it, it is borne further upwards towards the ether and the revolutions of heaven ... and following the guidance of its love of wisdom, it peers beyond the whole of sense-perceptible reality and desires to attain the intelligible realm" (τῆς νοητῆς) …. "Filled with another longing and a higher form of desire which has propelled it to the utmost vault of the intelligible, it thinks it is heading towards the Great King[23] himself. But as it strains to see, pure and unmixed beams of concentrated light pour forth like a torrent so that the eye of the mind, overwhelmed by the brightness, suffers from vertigo" (ὡς ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὄμμα σκοτοδινιᾶν) (*Op.* 69-71, trans. Runia 2001:64). [24]

It is clear that Philo assumes that this flight of the soul can take place while the human being is alive, in which case the soul temporarily dissociates itself from the body (Runia 2001:229). As Philo's influence in *Op.* 69-71, Runia (2001:224) favours the *Phaedrus*

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a) According to Coptic tradition angels were created on the first day – they are made of light (Pope Shenouda III, 1997: personal communication).   This is the oldest view, reflected in Jub. I i 2, also ascribed to by the Samaritans: the angels were created "in the beginning" (Fossum 1982:201).

b) On the second day (T. Ps. Jonathan on Gen 1:26, Bereshith Rabbah 111.8 – Rabbi Jochanan).

c) On the fifth day (Bereshith Rabbah 111.8 – Rabbi Hanina).

d) In Bereshith Rabbah 1.3 it is stated that all agree that no angels were created on the first day. Cook (1983:50) explains the rabbinic opinions on the need to counter Gnostic interpretations that the world was created by angels.

[23] The "Great King" is a term which crops up repeatedly in the context of the throne of God in heaven. Cf. 3.2.2.2 (4Q 403 Frg. 1I line 34) and 3.2.2.5 (4Q 405, Frg. 23 ii) .

[24] This effect is typical of shamanism in general – an example recently described by Lewis-Williams (2004:89-91), being the mantic functioning of the *San* shamans. Cf. Shannon (2003:36-37), and 2 Cor 12:3-5 (Bowker 1971:172).

myth (246 E - 247 C) where the soul is depicted as having wings,[25] and joins Zeus with his heavenly chariot and the other gods in heaven. However, the effect of the divine splendour and power described at the climax of the above passage is an inevitable part of every one of the Jewish ascent apocalypses (e.g. Ez 1:4; Dan 7:15; 10:8; *I Enoch* 14). The Egyptian concepts reflected in the Gnostic Gem (Appendix 5) are also congruent with Philo's concept of the flight of the soul. Philo's Platonic explanation of the flight of the soul is described in *Cher.* 27-28 and 31.

In *Cher.* 27-28 Philo explains that, just as the *cherubim* of Gen 3:24, being two distinct powers, are the symbols of this ruling authority and of goodness, the flaming sword, because it is capable of rapid motion and is impetuous, is the symbol of reason: "which never ceases being in motion with rapidity and energy to the selection of good objects, and the avoidance of all such as are evil".

Philo interprets the flaming sword as the Sun:

> " ... the Sun, that packed mass of flame, which is the swiftest of all existing things, and whirls round the whole universe in a single day. But there is a higher thought than these. It comes from a voice in my own soul, which often times is god-possessed and divines where it does not know ... The voice told me that while God is indeed one, His highest and chiefest powers are two, even goodness and sovereignty (ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἐξουσίαν). Through His goodness He begat all that is, through His sovereignty He rules what He has begotten. And in the midst between the two there is a third which unites them, Reason (λόγος), for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good. Of these two potencies sovereignty and goodness the Cherubim are symbols, as the fiery sword is the symbol of reason" (*Cher.* 27-28, trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:25).

Here the flaming sword/Reason/Logos seems to be understood as a mediator - "for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good". In other words the flaming sword "which turned every way" in its mediating role can be understood as an angel, especially as it is described as having ceaseless rapid motion.[26] The Platonic understanding in *Tim.* 61E of fire as cutting ("Fire we call it 'hot', by noting the way it acts upon our bodies by

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[25] In Hellenism the idea of the soul as a winged bird was common. This is also expressed in *Quis. Rer.* 230, 235. Its source may well be the Egyptian *ba* bird. See Appendix 5 on the representation of the *uraeus* as the *ba* in flight.
[26] See the discussion of Hendel's work (1985:672) in 2.3.1.

dividing and cutting"), provides the connection here to Philo's description of the flaming sword. Philo's exegesis of Gen 22:6 in *Cher.* 31 illustrates his concept of the ultimate meaning and goal of ascent – to sever the mortal element and "fly upward to God with the understanding stripped of its trammels":

> "Remember how Abraham the wise, when he began to make God his standard in all things and leave nothing to the created, takes a copy of the flaming sword - 'fire and knife' it says - desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels" (trans. Colson and Whitaker (1929:27)).

This metaphorical transformation of a Jewish Biblical text to an abstract conception of heavenly ascent is discussed in 5.3.

5.2.6   PHILO'S PERCEPTION OF ANGELIC AMBIGUITY

In *Somn.* I. 239 Philo makes an interesting observation on the ambiguity of Jewish angelology:

> "For just as those who are unable to see the sun itself see the gleam of the parhelion and take it for the sun, ... so some regard the image of God, His angel the Word, as His very self" (τον ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν κατανοοῦσιν).

This allegorical passage reverberates with biblical passages where there is uncertainty as to whether a particular interaction with a divine being was with an angel or God. (Examples are listed in 7.2.3). The above observation by Philo helps to clarify the characteristic ambiguity of Jewish angelology and is a pointer for the lack of clarity amongst scholars as to whether in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the sectarians understand themselves to be part of heavenly worship or distinct from the angelic activity described.

5.2.7 THE PHILONIC *LOGOS*

In *Op.* 139, *Quaest. in Gen.* II.62, and *Gig.* 52, Philo explains his concept of the *Logos*. In *Op.*139 Philo, commenting on Gen 9:6b, "for God made man in his own image", refers to Gen 1:27:

οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἑτέρῳ παραδείγματι τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῆς ἔοικε χρήσασθαι, μόνῳ δ᾽ ὡς εἶπον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ, διό φησιν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα γεγενῆσθαι τούτου τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐμπνευσθέντα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος ...

"For it is fitting that for his construction God used no other model belonging to the realm of becoming, but only, as I said, his own *Logos*.[27] For this reason he says that the human being has come into existence as its (the *Logos's*) likeness and representation by being inbreathed into the face [Gen 2:7], which is the location of the senses ..." (*Op.* 139, trans. Runia 2001:83).

In *Quest. in Gen.* II.62 the above exegesis of Gen. 9:6b is taken further and Philo defines the Logos as "the second God":

"Why does (Scripture) say, as if (speaking) of another God, "in the image of God He made man" and not "in His own image?" [Gen 9:6]. Most excellently and veraciously this oracle was given by God. For nothing mortal can be made in the likeness of the most high One and Father of the universe but (only) in that of the second God, who is His Logos (πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνου λόγος). For it was right that the rational (part) of the human soul should be formed as an impression by the divine Logos, since the pre-Logos God (ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός) is superior to every rational nature. But he who is above the Logos (and) exists in the best and in a special form - what thing that comes into being can rightfully bear His likeness? Moreover, Scripture wishes also to show that God most justly avenges the virtuous and decent men because they have a certain kinship with His Logos, of which the human mind is a likeness and an image" (trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929).

Here "he who is above the Logos" is what Philo called θεός in *Op.* 134 and "the father and Director" in *Op.* 135. The term *Logos* seems here to be the same figure as the *demiurgos* described in *Op.*134, and the "Artificer" (τοῦ τεχνίτου) as described in *Leg.* 1.31-32. Isaacs (1992:196) sums up Philo's thought about the *Logos* as follows: for Philo, the term *Logos* denotes the Thought of God knowable by mankind. Because the *Logos* is the power through which God frames the world (cf. Heb 1:2), Philo can call it the δεύτερος θεός, the Word which mediates between men and deity. His exegetical development of Jewish Wisdom traditions in terms of *Logos* allows him to affirm the

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[27] Heraclitus (c.500 BCE) had propounded the idea that the world was essentially fire in the form of air, which changes to water, which changes to earth, all held in balance, stability and order by what he called the *Logos*. The Stoics borrowed this concept and "*Logos*" became another word for God since it maintains order (Ferguson 1993:336).

transcendence of the creator and at the same time his accessibility to the world he has made, because the *Logos* is present in humanity itself according to Philo's exegesis of Gen 2:7. Without the presence of the *Logos* in this sense in humanity, contact between the divine and human world would be impossible (paraphrased).

By virtue of its presence in humanity in a mediating capacity, according to Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27, I deduce that the Philonic *Logos* is identical in function to Philo's concept of the μεθόριος function described by him in *Op.* 135. In *Gig.* 52, where Philo calls the Logos the "high priest":

> "Mark you that not even the high-priest Reason (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λόγος), though he has the power to dwell in unbroken leisure amid the sacred doctrines, has received free licence to resort to them at every season, but barely once a year [Lev 16.2 and 34]. For when we have reason (or thought) in the form of utterance we have no constancy, because it is twofold. But when without speech and within the soul alone we contemplate the Existent, there is perfect stability, because such contemplation is based on the Indivisible Unity (trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:471).

Isaacs (1992:197) stresses that the δεύτερος θεός is the incorporeal Word or Thought of God, but definitely not a distinct and separate being subordinate to God.[28] In Stoic circles the term 'Logos' was a link which connected the Absolute with the world and humanity. The term became widespread because of the desire to conceive of God as transcendent and yet immanent at the same time (Goodenough 1969:139).[29] Bousset (1913:389) explains this development by means of the concept of a hypostasis: he perceives this to occur where the "monotheistic idea struggles free from the older polytheism". The monotheistic tendency "volatises" originally concrete figures of deities into abstract figures which are half person and half qualities of God, to satisfy the quest for a transcendent, purely spiritual interpretation of God. However, according to Fossum

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[28] For Philo, the *Logos* is "the divine reason-principle, the active element of God's creative thought", and thus the instrument of God in the creation of the world. In *Heres.* 205 and *Somn.* I. 157 the *Logos* is called "archangelos", in the sense of "leader of the angels", and interestingly, Philo understands the number 7, the Hebdomad, as the *Logos* in its transcendent aspect (cf. the seventh *Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice*).

[29] At *Quis Rer.* 230,231, Philo uses the word "*logos*" in association with birds in their qualities of having wings and "soaring", equating these qualities with the two forms of reason - "the archetypal reason above us" and the copy of it (μίμημα) which we possess. This is done in the context of the indivisibility of this bird (Gen 15:10: ואת־הצפר לא בתר, "the bird he did not divide"; KJV), just as the Logos is indivisible" (Colson and Whitaker 1932:278).

(1982:356) the Platonic idea of a demiurge below the highest God was already dominant by the first century BCE and the *Logos* was regarded as the medium of creation and government of the world. Thus the concept of a second god cannot be attributed to Philo, but it did lead to various issues in subsequent thought, for example in Gnosticism which is discussed in chapter 6.

5.3 DISCUSSION

Philo's orthodox Judaism is reflected in his view that God is all good, and that mankind has the responsibility to make a choice between good and evil. His Jewish piety in combination with Platonism connects to ideas in *Book of Watchers* with regard to the freedom of choice. Philo's quotation from LXX Ps 77:49[30] indicates that God initiated the evil angels, and used them to effect affliction on those who had chosen unworthily. This confirms his view that evil originates in heaven, but does not explain how. To explain how evil angels originated Philo combines a platonic orientation with *the Book of Watchers'* version of Gen 6:1-4 to arrive at the crucial issue of choice and "Reason". *Gig.* 16-17 and 60 (quoted at 5.2.4) imply that wicked angels are the souls of those mortals who had chosen wrongly,[31] i.e. were disobedient to their calling as God's "ambassadors". The origin of evil angels therefore lies therein that they chose to desert from their God-given reason (λόγος) which is all good because it derives from God who is all good.

Philo's exegesis of Gen 6:1-4 provides a lead to understanding Fletcher-Louis's deduction about precedents to angelomorphic Christology in *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*. Perhaps most interesting, is the implication that at least by the first century BCE date of *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, the precursors to *merkabah* mysticism were already "in the air". Philo's exegesis of Gen 6:1-4 means that humans and angels, both being in essence souls, can be equated in the sense that souls have the ability to choose to ascend back to

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[30] Psalm 77 (78):49: "He sent out upon them the anger of His wrath, wrath and anger and affliction, a mission by evil angels".

[31] Cf. *Chaldean Oracle* Frg. 113 (Psellus): "And in this way, the *Oracles* decree that the soul 'be held in check'… A thinking mortal must hold the soul in check, so that it might not fall in with ill-fated earth but be saved" (trans. Majercik 1989:93). Majercik (1989:185) notes that this fragment refers to the entrapment of matter, and that Lewy (1978:172 n. 402) sees the origin of this statement as Plato *Phaedo* 81C. *Phaedrus*, 253 ff. is also a possibility.

God or not. To some extent this explains how the idea of heavenly ascent by humans during life on earth could already be entertained in this historical period.

Philo's allegorical understanding of the flashing sword and *cherubim* is applied to his exegesis of the sacrifice of Isaac. He explains that for the process of ascent, severance from the physical is necessary, hence the significance of the 'flaming sword/Reason/Logos' as a mediator, serving the goal of reunification with God: it is necessary that the mortal element be severed, so that the understanding is stripped of its "trammels". In *Cher* 26-32, Philo interprets the "flaming sword" as the symbol of reason, which is the sun – "that packed mass of flame". In *Cher.*31 Philo's exegesis of Gen 22:6 reveals his understanding of the goal of heavenly ascent as deification: "desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels" (cf. Appendix 5). On the basis of his exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7, Philo reasons that because God has bestowed his own intellect upon mankind in the form of the ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, the human intellect/mind yearns to ascend to heaven to be reunited with that of God. Philo describes angels as souls in the context of Gen 6:1-4, having the choice to return to their source of origin in the highest God who is all good, or to remain trapped in matter in the physical state. Thus in *Op.* 69-71 he describes the "soaring back upwards" to heaven as the heavenly ascent of the intellect of the human being. Nickelsburg's identification of *I Enoch*'s use of the "chosen" as defining the righteous who possess revealed wisdom, as opposed to the "hard of heart" who have not observed and acted according to the Lord's commands – (in this case not to trespass the set boundaries between heaven and earth) is congruent with Philo's metaphorical interpretation in *Gig.*17-18 of the myth which propounds that it is the mixture of divine and human elements which brings about the evil spirits on earth.

Colson and Whitaker (1929:444, 445) understand Philo to mean in *Gig.* 17-18 that "evil angels/demons" are not angels at all, but are the souls of the wicked (i.e. the *bene elohim* (LXX ἄγγελοι) who descend to earth to mate with the daughters of men). Here I understand Philo to place himself squarely within the matrix of the theodicy of the *Book of Watchers* - evil originates in heaven: the rebellious Watchers make their evil choice, and the consequences, experienced on earth, must be punished by a God who is just and

all good. Runia (2003:604) emphasises Philo's main strategy in confronting the problem of theodicy: even though evil originates in heaven, God is consistently dissociated from the causation of any kind of evil. God in his concern for the world always has positive intentions. Human beings have a free will, but so have angels when understood as souls, so that both human and angelic souls are to be held responsible for the wicked things they do, thus the pedagogic function of punishment outweighs its retributive purpose, and thus to Philo, God's intentions are always ultimately salvific.[32]

Philo's Middle Platonic exegesis of Gen 1:26, 27 and 2:7 describes his understanding of humans as souls which originated with God, but are contained in bodies which originated from a lower *demiurgos*. Philo's exegesis of Gen 2:7 in *Op.* 72-75 suggests that a *demiurgos* created man's "lower soul" (Gen 2:7) and that this is the source of evil as opposed to the spirit of God who is all good. The spirit of God was breathed into mankind, and this provided the animation which the "*demiurgos*" could not achieve. This is Philo's explanation for why mankind participates in both good and evil, and thus the crucial concept of mankind as made up of a "mixed nature", divine and human, developed. This exegesis will be seen in the next chapter to be the seed of a specific tangent of the perception of angelic activity, i.e. certain aspects of Sethian Gnosticism. Philo's exegesis in *Cher.* 31 illustrates the metaphorical transformation of a Jewish Biblical text to an abstract conception via the Platonic idea of the human potential to achieve divine status, and explains the rationale and mechanism for angelic functioning in terms of mediation between God and man, heaven and earth.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Pearson (1984b:329) suggests that the variety of interpretations found in Philo is probably due to his use of various traditions of exegesis. The idea that the soul is connected with heaven and the body with earth is found in both the Greek Platonic tradition but also in the later Jewish apocalyptic and rabbinic sources. That God

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[32] Hayman (1991-2:12) suggests that Philo's concept of God as containing both the attributes of Justice and Mercy, was the rabbinic answer to the "two powers in Heaven" heresy. Hayman (1991-2:13) refers to Psalm 82 where he sees a conflict between El, who stands for Justice and Truth, and YHWH, the particular God of Israel, the epitomy of Mercy.

addressed the angels when he said "let us make man" is also a view found in Palestinian Jewish texts, eg. Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 1:26 (Cook 1983:50). The same reasoning as that attributed to Philo is given in the Targum: the Father is all good, so cannot be the cause of evil to his offspring, so he must have had others to help him.

The significance of Philo's exegesis of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in *Cher* 26-32 (Gen 22:6), is expressed aptly by Goodenough (1969:7-8). He suggests that by Philo's time Jews had taken over the Pythagorean-Platonism of Alexandria in terms of ascent of the soul in order to be reunited with God, and this necessitates severance from the "sensible" or irrational life. In Judaism in the Greek-speaking world, especially in Egypt, God was no longer only the God presented in the Old Testament: "He was the Absolute, connected with phenomena by His Light-Stream, the *Logos* or Sophia". It seems that the sources of Philo's apperceptive mass with regard to angelology lay, not only in Judaism and Hellenism, but also in the ubiquitous remnants in Alexandria of 3000 years of ancient Egyptian religion.[33]

Diachronically, a major paradigm shift from the texts in previous chapters is apparent in Philo's thought. Writing in the Hellenistic milieu of Alexandria, his philosophical orientation led him to acknowledge a gulf between mankind and God and he proposed that God is unknowable. In his writings he addressed the problem of theodicy, and explained the longing of the human beings to bridge the gap between God and mankind. Philo provides an intellectual construct which forms the foundation of *merkabah* mysticism, and yet the traditional Jewish throne motif is not mentioned at all in Philo's entire *corpus*, except once in a negative connotation at *de Congressu* xxi.118.[34] At this time this motif undergoes a crucial transitional stage in Jewish angelology, where the abstractions of Platonism come into play. Philo clearly demonstrates the effect of Hellenism on the traditional metaphor of the throne of God, by referring to "the Great

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[33] Evidence of this conclusion is discernable in the Ptolemaic Gnostic gem (fig. 5), discussed in Appendix 5.

[34] In *de Congressu* xxi 118, Philo uses the word "throne" in a negative allusion to Egypt, which in his *corpus* is equated to the "body" with its sensuous association. "Again rebellious Egypt, when it glorified the mind which usurps the place of God, and bestowed on it the emblems of sovereignty, the throne, the sceptre, the diadem …".

King" (*Op*.69-72) rather than using the throne metaphor. In the following chapters this consistent motif in earlier Jewish angelology of the throne of God, will be seen to undergo a bifurcating development. Although he remained true to the foundation of his Judaism - the *Torah*, Philo's creative exegesis contributed to two trajectories involving angelology which were developing during his lifetime: aspects of Sethian Gnosticism, and Christianity. These diverging developments are discussed in chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

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CHAPTER 6

THE "UNDERWORLD OF PLATONISM"

Three angelological vectors which developed in the same hellenistic cultural context in which Philo worked, viz. Gnosticism, Hermeticism, and the *Chaldean Oracles*, demonstrate the complexity of ideas during this syncretistic historical period.

6.1 SECTION 1. GNOSTICISM: THE *APOCRYPHON OF JOHN*

The "underworld of Platonism"[1] formed part of the cultural context in which Christianity developed, and needs to be re-examined in relation to Christianity in view of recent discoveries, for example the Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Coptic codices along the Nile in Upper Egypt in 1946 has forced a radical re-appraisal of the development of early Christianity. The Gnostic writings must be seen against the background of a period when Jews, Christians and pagans, working in the same intellectual tradition in Alexandria, all drew on the rich tradition of exegetical and mythological speculation that had taken shape in Judaism during the hellenistic period.[2] The similarities between the writings of Judaism, Christianity and Gnosticism, which were of the same genre, must be attributed to the syncretistic cultural conditions of the Graeco-Roman world in which they were being produced (Koester 1982:1). Frend (1984:198) assessed gnosis to have held a worthy place both in the Jewish and in the earliest Christian scale of values, but it is necessary to distinguish between pre-Christian, pre-Gnostic elements and the later fully developed Gnostic systems because later on the early Christian authors opposed Gnosticism. The question of heresy arises because these two stages overlapped.

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[1] Dillon (1977:396).
[2] Kamil (2002:67-68, 87) explains the syncretistic elements of the Nag Hammadi texts on the basis that Egyptian society as far back as the New Kingdom (c.1567-1080) was already characterised by a high level of cultural integration and religious tolerance. At Memphis for instance, Phoenicians resided in the Tyrian camp, Syrians and other Semitic people built temples to their gods in other sections of the city. At Elephantine, within a stone's throw of the Egyptian temple of Khnum (a creator god believed to have

By 1991 Kurt Rudolph (1991:18) recognised that "every religion is a syncretistic phenomenon ... the study of religions is progressing: it no longer understands the designation 'syncretism' as a derogatory category". The earliest extant reference to Gnostics as a sect is a polemical description by Bishop Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.*) writing in c. 180 CE, in which he describes the essence of the Sethian Gnostic myth in the *Apocryphon of John*. King (2003:220) warns against the dangers of oversimplification and of stereotyping the *Apocryphon of John* as Sethian Gnosticism, because although it is a very useful term, it is selective in its focus: "dualism and impious interpretation of Scripture so predominate in the standard readings", that other valuable aspects are missed (King 2003:227). She claims (2006:2) that apart from the Basilides' fragmentary writings, the *Secret Revelation of John* was "the first writing to formulate a comprehensive narrative of Christian theology, cosmology, and salvation". The concept of a Gnostic vector is appropriate because Gnosticim developed as a result of a range of forces in a dynamic context, and that is partly why it is so difficult to position in relation to the religious systems of its time. The variety of phenomena classified as "gnostic" simply will not support a single monolithic definition - none of the primary materials fits the standard typological definition (King 2003:220). The core myth of Gnosticism addressed the philosophical question of the origins of evil and righteousness, therefore the basic philosophical questions at the root of Gnosticism appear to be similar to those which contributed to the development of apocalypticism, but different tracks were followed in seeking solutions to these questions.

Layton (1987:5) approaches the problem of origins by asking how much older than Irenaeus's derogatory description in c.180 CE can the Gnostic ideas be? Over the past century scholars have expressed opposing views on this matter. The History of Religions school, including Bultman, followed the tack that Gnostic ideas were derived from esoteric Jewish knowledge, (including Philo's writings), the *Corpus Hermeticum,* and the *Chaldean Oracles*. Because Hermes *Trismegistos* was identified with the ancient Egyptian god Thoth,[3] *Poimandres* was understood to demonstrate Graeco-Egyptian

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fashioned human beings on a potter's wheel from the clay of the Nile), Jews built a temple to their god Yahu.

[3] See Appendix 2.

syncretism. Käsemann believed that from concepts of the *Anthropos*, Sophia and the *Logos*, there was a development of a pre-Christian redeemer myth in Judaism. However, King (2003:138) rejects the idea of the pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth, describing it as "the invention of modern scholarship" due to "the abstraction of particular motifs from their literary and historical contexts". She points out (2003:174) that the extant materials simply do not support a pre-Christian dating of Gnosticism, regardless of how it is defined, and that any similarities with Christianity are merely superficial or secondary. On the surface this appears to be so, but according to her own contention (King 2003:202), vast differences of approach to the goal of achieving knowledge of God are evident in Gnosticism, and it cannot be defined as narrowly as would be necessary for this opinion to be valid. King (2003:175, 176) does however recognise that Jewish Gnostic works from Nag Hammadi confirm the validity of Judaism as the "hot new contender" for the origin of Gnosticism.[4] She locates this element in certain circles in Alexandria which expressed existential alienation and revolt, and perceived God to be distant from the world (King 2003:135). This element could be part of a Jewish rebellion as a result of confrontation with the problem of theodicy, but on the other hand Petrement points out (1991:479) that "the most characteristic feature of Gnosticism, which is to depict the God of the Old Law as a power inferior to the true God, and as not knowing him, is perhaps unthinkable in Judaism".

Quispel (1991:1149) identifies Gnosticism as largely an Alexandrian phenomenon, but he approaches the problem of understanding Gnosticism from another viewpoint: he defines gnosis as "an intuitive knowledge of revealed mysteries". Thus as Quispel sees it, the same elements which led up to Christianity may have been involved in the development of Gnosticism, especially in the light of the claim of the Copts that the Egyptians "caught a glimpse" of the essential features of Christianity before the birth of Christ (Atiya 1968:20-21; El Masri Habbib 1987:ix).[5] Quispel claims that many of these ideas

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[4] Stroumsa (1984:170) and Pearson (1984b:340) have also stressed that the earliest Gnostic writings show a clear dependence on Jewish sources.

[5] Quispel (1991:1149) states that certain elements of Gnostic thought recur in Christianity, such as a) "God is Mind "; b) "God ... brings forth matter out of Himself ..." (cf. Atum and *Logos* in Philo); c) " Ideas are thoughts of God ..." (cf. Ptah and the Memphis Theology); d) The "theme that the shining figure of Man is manifested as a prototype to the angels, who fashion the body of Adam".

influenced Gnosticism via the Hermetic Lodge in Alexandria, a mystery community consisting of Greeks, Jews and Egyptians. Kamil (2002:92) notes that Gnosticism appeared during the early centuries of the Christian era in the following wide ranging areas: Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Persia, and points out that a reference to Zoroaster in the Nag Hammadi texts begs the question why such a wide assortment of miscellaneous texts were collected and translated into Coptic. In view of the above evidence the possibility that the Nag Hammadi texts originated in Egypt and spread to the other centres cannot be excluded.

6.1.1 THE TEXTS

The textual source used for this study is *The Apocryphon of John. Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,I; III,I; IV,I; BG 8502,2* (Waldstein, M and Wisse, F (eds.) 1995). An original short Greek version of the *Apocryphon of John*, probably written in c.200 CE, underwent a redaction later in the third century which produced a longer version. Later in the third century or early fourth century, both versions were translated into Subachmimic Coptic, with a large number of Greek loan words. Waldstein and Wisse present two later Sahidic copies of the longer Coptic translations, II and IV,[6] and two later Sahidic copies of the shorter Coptic translations III and BG 8502.2.[7] The first three were found in the Nag Hammadi Codices (NHC) in 1945, while Codex Papyrus Berolinensis (BG 8502.2) was acquired for the Berliner Museum in 1896 from an antiquities dealer from the province of Achmim in Egypt. The shorter version III is the first of five tractates in NHC III. Reconstruction has been greatly aided by the other three texts. The longer version II is a redaction of the shorter version (Waldstein and Wisse 1995:7).

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[6] The longer versions II and IV are copies of the same Coptic translation of a long Greek recension, but although there are a small number of variant readings between them, there are a large number of variant spellings. Waldstein and Wisse interpret this as a reflection of the generalized shift from the early stage as evidenced in Codex II, to the 4th century standardised Sahidic of Codex IV. They note (1995:6) that the only change in sense between these two Codices is the addition of two letters in Codex II (24.29) which shift the seat of sexual desire from Adam to Eve, and they comment that this bias is typical for early Egyptian monasticism. They conclude (1995:7.8) that there is "not much that points at a possible historical context for the Greek Redaction of the *Apocryphon of John*. The overall purpose appears to be the desire to create a clearer and fuller form of the text".

Since Irenaeus's version is the earliest clear witness to the *Apocryphon of John* (Waldstein and Wisse 1995:188-193), it is presented first. The Greek words supplied are from Theodoret's translation in *Haer. Fab*. 13. Because the long Version II is the most complete, it is presented afterwards for comparison and discussion.

6.1.1.1 IRENAEUS'S DESCRIPTION OF THE GNOSTIC MYTH AS PORTRAYED IN THE *APOCRYPHON OF JOHN*.

In *Adversus Haeresis* (c.180 CE) Irenaeus quoted from a Gnostic document which was virtually identical to the corresponding section preserved in *Apocryphon of John,* NHC II 4.30-13.9. Waldstein and Wisse (1995:188-193) supply an English translation of this text in their Appendix 4, and label it the first part of the main revelation discourse (1995:1). Comparison of this document with the longer Coptic version II bears out Pearson's opinion (1997:116) that the *Apocryphon of John* is a composite product that contains Christian Gnostic editorial expansions of an earlier non-Christian stratum.[8] "The *Urtext* of the *Apocryphon of John* is a rewriting and expansion of Gen 1-7 for the purpose of presenting an alternative sectarian myth, a myth that will reveal saving gnosis".

The main points of Irenaeus's description of the myth is as follows:

1. Barbelo is a "certain unageing aeon in a virginal spirit".[9]

2. A certain unnameable (Father) willed to reveal himself to Barbelo.

3. This Thought came forth and requested Foreknowledge, then Incorruptibility, then Eternal Life.

4. Barbelo gave birth to a light similar to the "certain unnameable Father". This was the beginning of all light and generation.

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[7] BG 8502,2 was only properly published in 1972 by Schenke, who dates it to the 5th Century. It also contains corrections made by the scribe, and copying mistakes "leave no doubt that BG was copied from a Coptic exemplar rather than being the original translation from the Greek" (Waldstein and Wisse 1995:4).

[8] Pearson (1984a:59) classifies this text as "Barbelo-Gnostic" or "Sethian".

[9] Pearson (1997:131) notes that "Barba'elo" is probably derived from wordplay on the tetragrammaton: "in four, God". Cf. the four living beings as carriers of God on his throne in heaven in Ezekiel 1.

5.   When the Father saw this light, he annointed him with his goodness so that he might be made perfect. They say that this Light is Christ, who asked that the Mind be given to him as a helper.

6.   The Father sent the Mind and emitted the Word, forming the following conjugal couples: Incorruptibility and Christ; Eternal Life and Will; Mind and Foreknowledge; Self-Generated and Truth.[10]

7.   From the Light which is Christ and Incorruptibility, four lights were emitted to attend the Self-Generated.

8.   From Will and Eternal Life there were four emissions to attend the four lights: first, Grace, the Saviour named (H)armogenes; second, Volition, Raguhel; third, Understanding, David; fourth, Prudence, Eleleth.

9.   Then the Self-Generated emitted the perfect and true Man, Adamas, and Perfect Knowledge was emitted as a consort to Adamas, and an invincible power was given him by the virginal Spirit. From this were manifested the Mother, the Father, the Son;[11] and from Man and Perfect Knowledge there sprouted the Tree, which they also call Knowledge.

10. From the first Angel who attends the Only-Begotten, the Holy Spirit was emitted - i.e. Sophia/Wisdom - the wanton sexual element.[12]

11. Wanting conjugal coupling like the rest, "she leaped forward without the Father's consent and produced the Chief Ruler, the maker of this creation, in which there was Ignorance and Arrogance, and he took great power away from the Mother" (II 24.28).

12. "He departed from her to the lower region and made the firmament of heaven in which he dwells. Since he is Ignorance, he made the things that are under him: the powers, the angels, the firmaments and all earthly things.

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[10] This may be a vestige of ancient Egyptian mythology, especially in the light of Irenaeus's statement quoted at 14: "and so counting downward, there resulted the Ogdoad". See Van Dijk (1992:1700) for a description of the Ogdoad - four couples representing the formless chaos: the Abyss, Boundlessness, Darkness, Imperceptibility. Also cf. Atum-Re the creator god and head of the Ennead (the nine), which represented progressive steps of cosmic order: air and moisture; earth and sky; Osiris and Isis and Seth and Nephthys their opposites, as described in the Pyramid texts.

[11] Cf. *Chaldean Oracle* triads, 6.3.2.

[12] Macrae (1972:87) proposes that the origin of the Gnostic Sophia may have arisen from a combination of "the late Jewish tendency toward the hypostatization of divine attributes, and the widespread ancient myths of the female deity, especially the Isis myths".

13. Then he copulated with Arrogance and produced Wickedness, Jealously, Discord, Desire, so the Mother withdrew to the upper regions; so he thought he alone existed and for this reason said: 'I am a jealous God; there is none beside me'."

14. Irenaeus closes: "Such are the lies these people tell". He then makes a strange statement: "… and so counting downward, there resulted the Ogdoad".

At 10, Irenaeus identifies Sophia/Wisdom with the wanton sexual element, and this then leads to the consequence described in 11. The idea of Wisdom as creator is expressed in the Fragmentary Targum: "In wisdom the Lord created, and he perfected the heaven and the earth". This translation came about because of the word *bereshith*, בראשית as the first word in the Hebrew bible. It is in the construct state, but there is no noun following it, so *reshith* was commonly thought to be a name of Wisdom (Bowker 1969:98, 106) and there is thus a connection here between Gnosticism and Jewish religion, something which Irenaeus was apparently aware of.

6.1.1.2 THE LONG VERSION II: THE ROLE OF ANGELS IN THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.[13]

Irenaeus's version of the Gnostic myth as an explanation of the creation of the world, is confirmed in the passage below. It describes the origin of evil - the ignorant, arrogant Chief Ruler becomes the creator of the physical world. Within the limited context of Irenaeus' version he regarded this as blasphemy and "lies", but a broader understanding is provided in the larger context of version II, which gives insight into the earnestness of the Gnostics' concerns, and also reflects ideas from Philo's thought/corpus. Pearson (1979:13) sees numerous examples of Philo's Jewish-Platonic theology that underlie the *Apocryphon of John's* doctrine of divine transcendence, for example, in *Somn.* 167, God is described as unnameable (ἀκατονομάστου), ineffable (ἀρρήτου) and incomprehensible (ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ). All three these terms are reflected in the Coptic text BG 24.4-26.1. The *Apocryphon of John* version II 6.18-9.7 has different Coptic

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[13] The English translation quoted is by Waldstein and Wisse unless stated otherwise.   The synopsis page and line numbers of Waldstein and Wisse are used as reference points, but where the original manuscript lines are necessary, they are given in brackets afterwards.

words, but with the same meaning, and these are translated by Waldstein and Wisse with the same English words as BG.

The text starts with John, the son of Zebedee, describing how he was challenged by a Pharisee about his faith in Christ who supposedly had turned him from the traditions of his fathers, and who had now disappeared from the earth. During his resultant distress and desire to understand

> "How [was] the savior [appointed], and why was he sent [into the world] by [his Father, and who is his] Father, who [sent him, and of what sort] is [that] aeon (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ) [to which we shall go?]",

the heavens opened and in the supernatural light he saw a "likeness" which had three forms, that of a child, an old man and a servant. This "likeness" (ἰδέα) with three forms (μορφή) but specifically not a "plurality", introduced himself with the customary angelic greeting of "do not be afraid", (even though this is understood to be a revelation from Christ himself), as "the one who is with you (pl.) always, the Father, the Mother, the Son, the undefiled and uncontaminated One". John was then given the following revelation so that he could understand about the "perfect (τέλειος) Man".

THE UPPER THEOGONY

At 5.3-16 the Monad (μονάς) is described as

> "[a unity (μοναρχία) with nothing] above it. [It is he who exists] as [God] and Father of the All, the invisible (ἀόρατος) One, who is above [the All, who exists as] incorruption, (and) [as] pure light into which no [eye] can gaze. He [is the] invisible [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] of whom it is not right [to think] as a god or something similar. For he is more than a god, since there is nothing above him, for no one lords it over him."[14]

At 10.5 - 7 John is told that the Mother came forth from the Father as he contemplated himself

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[14] Cf. the description of Monad in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in the *Chaldean Oracles*.

"in his light which surrounds [him], namely the spring (πηγή) [of] living water."[15]

At 10.18 to 12.8 the "likeness" explains that

"[his thought (ἔννοια) became] actual and she came forth, [namely] she who had [appeared] before him in [the shine of] his light. This is the first [power, which was] before the All, and [which came] forth from his mind. She [is the Providence (πρόνοια) of the All] - her light [shines like his] light - the [perfect] power who is [the] image (εἰκών) of the invisible, virginal (παρθενικόν) Spirit (πνεῦμα) and it was she who praised him, for because of him she had come forth.

This is the first Thought, his image (εἰκών); she became the womb (μήτρα) of everything, for it is she who is prior to them all, the Mother-Father (μητροπάτωρ), the first Man, the holy Spirit, the thrice-male, the thrice-powerful, the thrice-named androgynous One, ...".[16]

This virginal Spirit is named Barbelo. At 15.5-17 the Father

"looked into Barbelo with the pure light which surrounds the invisible Spirit and (with) his spark, and she conceived from him.   He begot a spark of light with a light resembling blessedness (μακάριος), but he does not equal his greatness.[17] This was an only-begotten One of the Mother-Father who had come forth; he is his only offspring, the only-begotten One of the Father, the pure Light."

This "only-begotten One of the Father, the pure Light" was then anointed (16.2) with his Christhood/goodness (Χριστός/χρηστός) of the invisible Spirit, until he became perfect. He then requested and received his first fellow-worker, the Mind (νοῦς).

"And the Mind wanted to make something through the Word of the invisible Spirit. And his will became actual and came forth with the Mind and the Light glorifying him. And the Word followed the will. For through the Word, Christ, the divine Self-generated created the All." [18]

In this way the process of creation, including the creation of Four Lights and their attendant triads, commences (18.19).

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[15] This phrase has several significant associations. It casts light on the theurgic technique described at about this time in *Chaldean Oracles* whereby divination is done according to the reflection in water (cf. Iamblichus: d*e Mysteriis* 3.14 where divination is achieved through higher beings becoming visible through light shining on water or oil in bowls or cups).
[16] Cf. Hekate (6.3.3.2) and see *Chaldean Oracle* triads (6.3.2).
[17] BG has "but he is not equal to her in greatness".

THE LOWER THEOGONY

The concept of the aeons (αἰών) appears for the first time at 7.18. At 20.18 the aeon Sophia is introduced as one of the 12 aeons which attend "the Son of the Mighty One, the Self-Generated, Christ, through the will and the gift of the invisible Spirit." Then at 24.1, Wisdom (σοφία) of Reflection (ἐπίνοια) acts rashly and disaster ensues:

"[Sophia] thought a thought from herself and (from) the conception (ἐνθύμενοις) of the invisible Spirit and Foreknowledge, she wanted to bring forth a likeness of herself without the consent of the Spirit - he had not approved - and without her consort, and without his consideration, and though he had not approved, namely, the person (πρόσωπον) of her maleness, and she had not found her partner, and she had considered without the consent of the Spirit and the knowledge of her partner, (yet) she brought forth.

And because of the invincible power which is in her, her thought did not remain idle and a product came forth from her which was imperfect and different from her appearance, because she had created him without her consort. And he was dissimilar to the likeness of his Mother for he has another form (μορφή). And when she saw her wish (realized) he changed into a form (τύπος) of a lion-faced serpent (δράκων). And his eyes were like fires of lightning which flash. She cast him away from her, outside those places that no one among the immortal ones might see him, for she had created him in ignorance. And she surrounded him with a luminous cloud, and she placed a throne[19] (θρόνος) in the middle of the cloud that no one might see him except the Holy Spirit, who is called the Mother of the living. And she called his name Yaltabaoth. This is the Chief Ruler (26.6) who took a great power from his Mother. And he removed himself from her, and moved away from the places in which he was born. He siezed and created for himself other aeons with a luminous spark which (still) exists now. And he was amazed[20] in his arrogance (ἀπόνοια) which is in him, and he begot authorities (ἐξουσία) for himself" (26.18).

These authorities then created powers who created 365 angels (ἄγγελοι). Eventually, at 34.14 Wisdom begins to move "to and fro" (ἐπιφέρεσθαι)[21] in an action of repentance

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[18] Cf. LXX Ps 32:9 ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν.

[19] The Coptic implies that the throne, which by implication was due to him as "Chief Ruler", was hidden in the cloud "that no one might see him". However, it appears from subsequent developments in the narrative, that this throne did not contain him, nor deter him from infiltrating other aeons and in this way he created the physical world.

[20] BG 39.9 makes more sense here: "And he copulated with Arrogance (ἀπόνοια)". Irenaeus' version also has this latter phrase. III 16.7 has "He copulated with ignorance".

[21] Gen 1.2 LXX has καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Giversen (1963:65) translates this as "go to and fro". The Coptic word in this position in BG 44.1 is ⲉⲉⲡⲓⲫⲉ[ⲣⲉ which means "to go

(μετανοεῖν). After the Mother's repentance, she is taken up "above her Son, that she might be in the Ninth (aeon) until she has corrected her deficiency." At 37.6-38.1 (II 14.14-15), as a result of Sophia's repentance, a description according to Gen 1:26-27 of the first creation of Adam in the image of God, i.e. the psychic Adam, commences:

> "And a voice came forth from the exalted aeon-heaven: 'The Man exists and the Son of man' (ϥϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ).[22] ... And he taught them, namely, the holy and perfect Mother-Father, the perfect Providence, the image of the invisible One, who is the Father of All, through whom everything came into being, the first Man, for in a human form he revealed his appearance."

However, at synopsis 38.9, 10 (II 14.31) conflation of Gen 2:7 with the above description from Gen 1:26-27 occurs: the Chief Ruler (πρωτάρχων) Yaltabaoth says to authorities (ἐξουσία) which he had created "Come, let us create a man according to the image of God and according to our likeness, that his image may become a light for us." There then follows a lengthy description of this activity.[23] Each of the 365 participating angels is named. However, as in Gen 2:7, the product was "completely inactive and motionless".

At synopsis 51.9 (II 19.15, 16) the Mother (Sophia)

> "wanted to retrieve the power which she had given to the Chief Ruler, (so) she petitioned the μήτροπατωρ of the All, who is most merciful. He sent, by means of the holy decree (ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϣⲟϫⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ)[24] the five Lights down upon the place[25] of the angels of the Chief Ruler.[26] And they advised him."

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hither and thither", and is also used to translate this word in Gen 1:2 (Crum 1939:217b). (Version II has ⲛ̄ϣⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ as equivalent). Cf. Ez 1:14 for the idea of going to and fro.

[22] This line is identical in all four identical Coptic texts. This is where Irenaeus's version ends.

[23] This section is the most striking evidence of redaction. It is a major interpolation of a long list of the psychic parts of Adam's body and the 365 angelic beings that are associated with these body parts, which the redactor copied from the Book of Zoroaster (II 15,27 - 19,10). Waldstein and Wisse (1995:194) record that Theodore bar Koni (Scher), commented about the making of the body of Adam: "Now he took this from the Chaldeans". However, King (2006:ix) points out that this list "belongs to a widespread belief that the demons were responsible for disease; knowing their names gave a person the power to exorcise their demonic influence and thus provide healing to the affected part of the self".

[24] This appearance seems to be a resurfacing of a Divine Council setting.

[25] Pearson (1984b:334) suggests that τόπος in the text is a corruption of τύπος and that the original verse read "in the form of the angels", as is found in BG 51:10-11: ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ (Synopsis 51). This version is also found in III 24, 3-4: ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉ[ⲗⲟⲥ.

[26] This implies that the Chief Ruler had his own set of angels. There thus appears to be an hierarchical difference between the "Lights" from the μητροπατωρ and the angels of the Chief Ruler.

What actually happens is that the Lights trick Yaltabaoth into blowing "something" of his spirit which is the "power of his Mother" into their product's face, and "the body moved and gained strength, and it was luminous" (synopsis 52.16, II 19.32). The rest of the powers instantly became jealous because they recognised that the intelligence of the Lights' creation was greater than theirs: "and he was luminous and free from wickedness, so they cast him down into the lowest region (μέρος) of all matter (ὕλη)".[27] But the Mother-Father

> "had mercy on the power of the Mother which had been brought forth from the Chief Ruler ... and he sent, through his beneficent Spirit and his great mercy, a helper to Adam, a luminous reflection, who comes out of him, who is called "Life" (Ζωή). And she assists the whole creature, by toiling with him, and by restoring him to his perfection and by teaching him about the descent of his seed and by teaching him about the way of ascent, (which is) the way it came down." (synopsis 53.13-54.14, II 20.19). [28]

At synopsis 55.15 (II 21.4-5) the jealous angels

> "brought him into the shadow of death in order that they might form (πλάσσειν) (him) again from earth and water and fire and spirit, ... This is the tomb of the form (ἀνάπλασις) of the body with which the robbers had clothed the man, the fetter of forgetfulness. And he became a mortal man. This is the first one who came down and the first separation".

The sequence of events from Sophia's repentance onwards (the latter is not mentioned in Irenaeus's version), is a remarkable portrayal of communication between Sophia and the "Father of all". Although in a different context, this process echoes the communication from the throne of God in heaven as described in Ezekiel's vision in chapters 1 and 10, and especially the connection of ἄρχεσθαι at synopsis 34.13 (II 13.13 and BG 44.19) of ⲉⲉⲡⲓⲫⲉⲣ[ⲉ (ἐπιφέρεσθαι, "to and fro") with Ez 1:14: רצוא ושוב. Waldstein and Wisse (1995:78) note the use of ἐπεφέρετο in LXX Gen 1:2 for the phrase מרחפת. The process of moving back and forth, or "to and fro" is again described in the same terms in the *Chaldean Oracles* in the movement of the *Iynges*. The sequence repentance, creation of the psychic Adam, pronouncement from the voice from the exalted aeon-heaven, the

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[27] Cf. Gen 37:24, Joseph cast into the pit by his jealous brothers.

[28] Here the concept of ascent is clearly linked to the idea of "restoration of perfection", lost due to Sophia's wantonness, but made possible by virtue of her repentance.

"Father of All", affirming the existence of the Son of man, seems to indicate a powerful turn of events which conveys a sense of hope.

In 73.15 John asks Jesus "Where did the counterfeit/despicable Spirit come from?" At 77.9 – 78.18, Gen 6:1-4 is dealt with as the summit of evil:

> "And he [the Chief Ruler] made a plan with his powers. He sent his angels (ἄγγελοι) to the daughters of men, that they might take some of them for themselves and raise offspring (σπέρμα) for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. When they did not succeed, they gathered together again and made a plan together. They created a despicable spirit who resembles the Spirit who had descended, so as to pollute the souls through it. And the angels changed themselves in their likeness into the likeness of their [the daughters of men] mates, filling them with the spirit of darkness, which they had mixed for them, and with evil (πονηρία). ... They [the people] became old without having enjoyment. They died, not having found truth and without knowing the God of truth. And thus the whole creation became enslaved forever, from the foundation of the world until now."

6.1.2 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION – THE ORIGIN OF EVIL

The exegesis of Gen 6:1-4 in Enochic literature was clearly an important influence in this text. In the *Apocryphon of John* the counterpart to the evil spirits of *I Enoch* is the "counterfeit spirit" (ἀντίμιμον, ⲉⲧϢⲈⲂⲂⲒⲀⲈⲒⲦ) (II 24.31; 26.20, synopsis 65.13; 70.16) with which the angels corrupt non-Gnostic humankind (Pearson 1984b:335). The chief archon, Yaltabaoth, is the counterpart of Shemihazah, but also the counterpart of the biblical creator. Pearson (1995:362) points out that one cannot speak of a "fall" of the angels in the *Apocryphon of John*, they are the agents of the creator Yaltabaoth, who "sends" them. For the *Apocryphon of John* "evil is real and is the product of powerful spiritual forces at work in the world resulting from a primordial fall" (Pearson 1995:365). However this does not imply a fall of angels, unless one sees Sophia as an angel.[29] In the *Apocryphon of John* the biblical creator of the world is himself the problem, but the problem is initiated by Sophia's desire to procreate without her complementary partner,

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[29] Talbert (1976:426) perceives in Philo's writings that the concepts of wisdom and angel are merged, and in *Allegorical Interpretation* 1.14, and in some Jewish circles, the angel and wisdom traditions also merged with concepts of the *Logos*. The syncretistic practice of Hellenistic Judaism was part of the tendency of the larger culture of the time to think in terms of one heavenly reality which could be addressed or described by many names (Talbert 1976:429).

i.e. rebellion, as in the *Book of Watchers*. In this respect the connection with the Enochic thought contained in the *Book of Watchers* is clear. However, in *Book of Watchers*, it is indeed a fall of angels in that it is the angels who are led into rebellion by the chief of the angels, i.e. the evil in the world is blamed on rebellion of the angels. In the *Apocryphon of John* the real God is also exempted from responsibility for the misery of the world because the equivalent of the Creator in Genesis is an ignorant and subordinate figure, while the real God is invisible and exalted in the highest, as in Middle Platonism.

The implication of the angelology described in this section on Gnosticism ultimately centres around theodicy. The essence of the narrative is the struggle for the heavenly *pneuma* that was transferred from Sophia to Yaltabaoth, and is thus outside the world of light (Giversen 1963:68). The *Apocryphon of John* 34.6-12 reflects the discussion in Jewish circles of the first and second centuries CE concerning "two powers in heaven". The Chief Ruler says

> " 'I am a jealous God and there is no other God beside me.' But by announcing this, he indicated to the angels who attended him that there exists another God. For if there were no other one, of whom would he be jealous?" [30]

The notion of "two powers in heaven" is generally seen as rebellion by Jewish Gnostics against the biblical Creator. Pearson suggests that the authors of the early Gnostic texts were "disaffected Jewish intellectuals open to the various religious and philosophical currents of Hellenistic syncretism" (Pearson 1997:120). McRae (1972:97) saw them as religious intellectuals who had suffered a "loss of confidence in the created world". The motif of "throne" appears in the *Apocryphon of John* in a negative light. This in itself seems to be a telling symptom of rebellion against ultimate authority, which is symbolised in this study by the throne motif. In the following section, selected texts from the *Corpus Hermeticum* do not display any lexical connection to the throne motif either, but the characteristic Platonic respect for a Monad beyond the reach of mankind, permeates the writings, even as it underlies the *Apocryphon of John*.

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[30] Cf. Irenaeus' version in 6.1.2.1, 13.

6.2 SECTION 2. THE *CORPUS HERMETICUM*

The *Corpus Hermeticum* is a link in the "Great Chain of Hellenism" (Bowersock (1990:17), but it is partly an Egyptian thread which it contributes to angelology. Amongst the Gnostic tractates found at Nag Hammadi, less than sixty years ago, there was an *Asclepius* and a Hermetic tract on the subject of the Ogdoad (Codex VI.6).   The latter tractate had a note stating that it had been "composed for the temple of Diospolis[31] in hieroglyphs" and carved on stelae at the behest of Hermes *Trismegistus* (Hornung 2001:52).[32] This discovery in Egypt suggests a geographical connection between Philo of Alexandria, Gnosticism, and Hermeticism. Holzhausen (2004:847) notes that recent research is characterised by emphasis on the Egyptian origins of the Hermetic texts.[33] Literary sources associated with Alexandria, where Hellenism and Egyptianism attained a fusion, supply most of our information about Hermeticism (Fowden 1986:161). However, Dillon (1977:392) asserts that Jewish influence is certain in the *Hermeticum*, because "there are many signs in the *Poemandres* that the author is familiar both with the Old Testament and the allegorical interpretation of it".   Allusions to Genesis are frequent, for example at 1.11, 15 and 18.[34] The tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* can thus be seen as "a response to the same milieu, the very complex Graeco-Egyptian culture of Ptolemaic, Roman and early Christian times" (Copenhaver 1992:xxxii). The underlying connections of ideas which impinge on angelology between all three these traditions, Egyptian, Hellenistic and Jewish, are examined in this chapter. For evidence of the underlying connections see Appendix 2.

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[31] Diospolis Magna; Luxor (Thebes).

[32] Stricker in 1953 suggested that Ptolemy I had ordered the recording in Greek of old, esoteric Egyptian priestly documents, just as he had ordered the translation into Greek of the Hebrew scriptures. Iamblichus believed that the *Corpus Hermeticum* had been written by Theban priests with their arcane wisdom in the Egyptian temple milieu. Even if he was mistaken, this would have been a reasonable deduction in the syncretistic context of late antiquity (Fowden 1986:168).

[33] The assumption of an Iranian origin of the *Corpus Hermeticum* as proposed by Reitzenstein and others, has been generally abandoned in favour of an Egyptian origin (Hornung 2001:51). That this is probably correct is also attested by the derogatory tone in Tractate XVI of the *corpus* which is directed against the "verbal din" of Greek philosophy. By implication, the derogatory tone supports the general abandonment amongst scholars of the idea of a derivation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* from Greek philosophy.

[34] Brashler, Dirkse and Parrott (1996:331) note the "large, ancient, and literarily active Jewish community in Egypt" as part of the historical cultural context of the Hermetic writings.

Dillon (1977:389) notes the "quite uncertain date" of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and that it is not a coherent body of works.[35] It is impossible to place the *Corpus Hermeticum* into a diachronic scheme, because the tractates range over such a long timespan. The earliest *Hermetica,* concerned with astrology and the powers of gemstones and plants, had been written by the early second century BCE (Layton 1987:447), but the cosmological and moral treatises are from a later period. Since the Hellenistic period, "there had been a comprehensive body of writings in Egypt, produced in the name of the god Hermes, who has been identified with the Egyptian god Thot (Theuth, Thout), the god of wisdom and the art of writing" (Holzhausen 2004:846).[36]   "*Books of Hermes*" (different from the demotic *Book of Thoth*), are first mentioned by Plutarch (46-120 CE); then in c. 200 CE Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* VI, 4, 35-37) mentioned forty-two Hermetic writings, and in the late third century they are mentioned by Iamblichus (*De Myst*. 8.1.260-261). Holzhausen (2004:846) notes that the first mention of Hermes *Trismegistus* is in Athenagoras (second century CE) and Philo of Byblus, but "Writings of Thoth" appear as early as the eighteenth dynasty (1550-1307 BCE) in *The Book of the Dead.* By the early third century BCE the title Thoth *wr wr wr* the "thrice great one" i.e. *Trismegas*, a variant of *Trismegistus,* appears in Egyptian in Upper Egypt (Mahe 1996:353).

6.2.1 THE ANGELOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *CORPUS HERMETICUM*

Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα ....ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον,[37]

"Muse, sing Hermes, ... messenger of the gods, the helper,"
(*The Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4.1-3, c.725 BCE, trans. Boer 1970:48).

According to Hermetic lore all knowledge is obtained through revelation, and not reason. The concern was to recover the secrets that had once been revealed by Hermes *Trismegistus*.[38] Hornung (2001:51-52) describes the *Corpus Hermeticum* as follows:

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[35] Athaniassiadi and Frede (1999:12) date the theoretical part from the late first to the 4th century CE. Grese (1979:35) accepts Reitzenstein's estimate of 200 BCE to 300 CE, but also notes Flinders Petrie's dating of 500 - 200 BCE.
[36] For evidence of the link between Thoth and Hermes, see Appendix 2.

> "The tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* purport to be direct communications from Hermes *Trismegistus*, dialogues of Hermes with his son Tat (Thoth!) or with Asclepius, and there are also dialogues of Isis with her son Horus, as in alchemic tractates. ... According to the Stobaean tractate *Kore Kosmou*, which glorifies Isis, Isis and Osiris found the books of Hermes *Trismegistus* and passed their contents, the seeds of all culture and religion, on to humankind; the end of the tractrate enumerates their beneficent deeds for the world and its inhabitants".[39]

The *Corpus Hermeticum* consists of seventeen Greek treatises, the Latin Asclepius[40], twenty-nine Greek excerpts from Stobaeus, three Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi, the Armenian Hermetic Definitons, a few new excerpts from an Oxford manuscript, and two fragments from a Viennese papyrus (Holzhausen 2004:846). The incorporation of the name Hermes in this heterogenous collection of texts conveys the angelological thrust, because Hermes was the messenger of the Olympian gods. From the time of Homer onwards, the classical Greek term ἄγγελος referred first of all to human messengers in human contexts, but it was also applied to those who bore messages from the gods. Bousset (1913:391) examined the functions of Hermes as herald, messenger, interpreter and divine creative word, and showed that the interpretation of Hermes as the (revelatory) Word (of the deity) can be traced to the first century CE. At this time Hermes is called Λόγος - the herald (κῆρυξ) of the gods because he brings to the hearing through the voice what is signified according to the *Logos*. Bousset (1913:398) suggested that "behind the figure of the Philonic *Logos* there stands, in all probability, the god Hermes".

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[37] Gaisser (1983:1) notes that ἐριούνιον is an obscure but common epithet for Hermes meaning "helper" or "luck-bringer", and notes that it could also mean "swift" by virtue of being related to the Arcado-Cypriote οὔνη /οὖνον, "run"/ "race". (Cf. "swift" as a description of the *Iynges* in the *Chaldean Oracles*).

[38] Near the beginning of one of the Stobaean excerpts, *Kore Kosmou*, Isis tells Horus that Hermes "who knew all ... inscribed what he understood and then concealed it, so that every generation to come later in the world would seek for it" (Copenhaver 1992:94).

[39] According to *Kore Kosmou, Nous* the Creator, formed the first human. This first man then functioned as a creative demiurge, but he descended through the zones of the planets to the earth, where he was ensnared by matter. Salvation is only for those who recognise themselves as ensnared in this way, and have the will to leave their bodies and reascend to the eighth region of the Ogdoad (Hornung 2001:52), where they attain deification.

[40] Holzhausen (2004:847) describes the Latin *Asclepius* as a very free translation of the Greek *Logos teleios* from the second/third century CE. A Coptic translation of part of the Greek text, *Asclepius* 21-29 is preserved in the Nag Hammadi Codex 6.8 which originated in c. 350 CE. The preservation of this text in a Coptic Codex in Egypt indicates that it was valued by the Copts, from about the second century to at least 350 CE. For discussion of the relationship between Gnosticism and Coptic Christianity, see Evans (2004:295-296).

In this section the link between the ancient Egyptian wisdom of Thoth and belief in angels via the connection between Thoth, Hermes and the Philonic *Logos* is considered. As with the texts from Qumran, it is not possible to generalise about the doctrine of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, but the following aspects of angelology are examples which demonstrate how, as part of the apperceptive mass of the author/s, a variety of angelological elements were incorporated into a new synthesis in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. The following tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* are selected for discussion: *Corpus Hermeticum* 1 (*Poimandres*), 6, 10, 11, 12, and *Asclepius*.[41] *Poimandres*[42] brings together a number of significant elements from other texts dealt with in this dissertation. The following elements have far-reaching implications for angelology and the concept of heavenly ascent. Their appearance here indicates and witnesses to their contribution to the cultural context from which the *Corpus Hermeticum* arose.[43]

a) Appearance of a divine figure in response to prayer.

In *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.1 an angel-like figure (Poimandres) appears in response to prayer ("my thinking soared high"). Hermes *Trismegistus* addresses Poimandres at *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.7 and formulates the following goal: "I wish to comprehend being and understand its nature and know god." This sequence of events where an angel-like figure appears in response to prayer echoes a similar divine appearance in other texts: in Dan 10:12 where, after Daniel's vision of the throne of God (Dan 5,6), an angelic figure appears and says "Fear not, Daniel, for from the first day that you set your mind to understand and humbled yourself before your God, your words have been heard, *and I have come because of your words*." (Italics mine). A similar mechanism of the appearance of an angel in response to prayer is described in the appearance of Raphael in the narrative of *Tobit*. A fourth example is in Rev 1:10 where John states that he was "in

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[41] All the English translations quoted are by Copenhaver unless specified otherwise. Copenhaver does not use a capital letter when he translates θεός.

[42] Ferguson (1993:294) dates this tractate to the second century CE at the earliest.

[43] *Poimandres* makes no mention of Hermes, but the common presumption, suggested by the title, (Discourse) of Hermes Trismegistus, and by *Corpus Hermeticum* 13.15 and 19, is that Hermes is the speaker, even though the narrator is a human (Copenhaver 1992:94). This latter observation is in line with the ambiguity of Jewish angelology in general.

the spirit on the Lord's day" when he heard a voice behind him and a divine vision ensued.[44]

b) An ethos of reverence for ultimate sovereignty.

At 1.2 Poimandres describes himself as "mind of sovereignty … I know what you want, and I am with you everywhere" (ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς, οἶδα ὃ βούλει, καὶ σύνειμί σοι πανταχοῦ). In paragraph 1.15 when Poimandres tells Hermes that unlike any other living thing on earth, mankind is twofold - in the body mortal but immortal in the essential man, this concept is in agreement with Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26, 27 and 2:7, as discussed in chapter 5. The phrase ὁ τῆς αὐθεντίας νοῦς expresses the same idea as that of Philo. The use of the word αὐθεντίας here serves to convey a monotheistic ethos and spirit of reverence for ultimate sovereignty which pervades the entire *Corpus Hermeticum*. This is strikingly similar to the impression of piety which pervades Philo's *corpus*. Holzhausen (2004:848) describes the "real aim and essential content of all Hermetic writings" as "the recognition of God as the creator of the world and mankind (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.3) ... He who acknowledges god is pious and good and attains salvation".[45] Dillon (1977:389) notes the unusual use of the word *authentia* here, and surmises that it may indicate a supreme power above *Nous*, or simply a characteristic of *Nous*. There is no clear mention of a principle superior to Poimandres himself elsewhere in the tractate, i.e. the typical ambiguity of Jewish angelology is present here.

The angel-like figure in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1 is "an enormous being completely unbounded in size" and is associated with fire. Cf. the discussion on the enormous angel in Rev 10:2 who straddles earth and sea with feet like pillars of fire in chapter 7. A little further on in the text this mention of fire is elaborated on, and the context clearly indicates an angelological connotation.

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[44] Another example appears in the Coptic *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (Nag Hammadi Codex VI.6), possibly composed in the second century, where a prayer request for a visionary experience is followed by an embrace between Hermes Trismegistus and the initiate. This culminates in a vision of "the eighth [sphere surrounding the earth] and the souls that are in it, and the angels singing a hymn to the ninth and its powers. And I see him who has the power of them all, creating these {that are} in the spirit" (trans. Brashler, Dirkse and Parrot 1996:325).

[45] Also expressed in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.27, 6.5, 10.15.

c) The association of the swift movement of fire and wateriness in the atmosphere.

The description of Poimandres changes in 1.5 to include the opposites of wateriness and fire. The air is described as "nimble and piercing and active" (ἐλαφρός) (Copenhaver 1992:1).[46] Cf. 3.1.2.1 on Ez 1:7 where the word ἐλαφραὶ is used in LXX Ez 1:7 in an angelological context (in the description of the feet of the living beings as "sparkled (σπινθῆρες) like bronze flashing as with lightning, and light in weight /light in moving, nimble/swift" (ἐλαφραί).

The above examples are clearly recognisable aspects of Jewish angelology as described in chapters 3, 4 and in the Book of Revelation. In d) below, the implication of Philo's platonically oriented exegesis of Gen 1 and 2, i.e., the need for salvation, is discussed. The theme of the goal of heavenly ascent is perceptible as an underlying motive.

d) All knowledge is obtained through revelation from God.

Although Holzhausen (2004:848-849) notes the lack of a uniform system, in that there are many contradictions,[47] and Hornung (2001:52) agrees that there was no single, binding Hermetic doctrine, a cornerstone of Hermeticism was the thought that all knowledge is obtained through revelation and not reason. Fowden (1986:33) recognises that philosophical Hermeticism is "not just a haphazard accumulation of separate elements, but a self-validating structure with its own conventions". The organic wholeness of the *Corpus Hermeticum* is recogniseable in its concept of salvation. According to Hermeticism, even though mankind has an immortal component, because mankind is subject to fate, salvation is necessary, which is what the Hermetic way offers. This is explained in *Corpus Hermeticum* 6.3:

> "The good cannot be cleansed of vice here below ... The good is in god alone,
> then, or god himself is the good. … only the name of the good exists among
> mankind - never the fact. It cannot exist here. Material body, squeezed on all

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[46] καὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐλαφρὸς ὢν ἠκολούθησε τῷ πνεύματι, ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, "and the air was nimble and piercing and active as well, and because the air was light it followed after spirit and rose up to the fire away from earth and water …"

[47] For example on the question of whether god created the world alone (*Corpus Hermeticum* 11.11-14; 14.4), or with the aid of an intermediary, as at *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.9.

sides by vice, sufferings, pains, longings, angry feelings, delusions and mindless
opionions, has no room for the good."

This is an example where there is a partial overlap of a Middle Platonic ethos between
Philo and the author of *Poimandres,* in the idea that God is good and that the material
body is vulnerable to evil, which tends toward the Gnostic characteristic of rejection of
the material world. In *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.20 Poimandres tests Hermes' understanding
by asking him "Why do they deserve death who are in death?" Hermes answers:

> "Because what first gives rise to each person's body is the hateful darkness, from
> which comes the watery nature, from which the body was constituted in the
> sensible cosmos, from which death drinks."

Poimandres approves and then in paragraph 21 focuses on the opposite: "But why is it
that he who has understood himself advances toward god?" Hermes answers:

> "Because the father of all things was constituted of light and life, and from him
> the man came to be."

Again Poimandres approves and sums up:

> "Life and light are god and father, from whom the man came to be. So if you
> learn that you are from light and life and that you happen to come from them, you
> shall advance to life once again."

Here there is also an overlap with Gnosticism, in that the Hermetic way also offers
salvation through self-knowledge. In the concept of "light and life" as opposed to
"darkness" and "death" a "soft dualism" is expressed in the opposites of light and
darkness, life and death.[48]

In *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.10 and 11, the Middle Platonic elements can be seen to form a
bridge to the Neoplatonic idea of God as good, combined with God's creative function as
making "ensouled living beings" as well as the "immortals". Here Mind (*Nous*) tells
Hermes:

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[48] Cf. Dillon (1999:69) for the terms 'soft' and 'hard' for monotheism. Here I apply the same nuance to
dualism. Pearson (1997:130) identifies the radical dualism of the Gnostics, who split the transcendent God
of the Bible into a supreme, ineffable being and a lower Creator responsible for the material world, as the
decisive turn away from normative Judaism. This "radical dualism" of the Gnostics is what I would term
"hard" dualism, as opposed to the "soft" dualism of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

Every living body, both immortal and mortal, (reasoning and) unreasoning, is composed of matter and soul. For all living bodies are ensouled. The non-living, on the other hand, consist of matter by itself; soul, likewise coming by itself from the maker is the cause of life, but the one who makes the immortals causes all life. .... [11] Clearly, there is someone who makes these things, and quite evidently he is one, for soul is one, life is one and matter is one. But who is this someone? Who else but the one god? To whom, if not to god alone, might it belong to make ensouled living beings? God is one, then. [13] ... god's work is one thing only: to bring all into being.[49] ... This is the beautiful; this is the good; this is god" (τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ καλόν, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς) (Copenhaver 1992:39, 40).

This statement that both God and his work are good, agrees with Philo for example at *Cher*. 28, but *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.10 (Copenhaver 1992:32) counteracts this when it explains that the material cosmos is not good because it is easily affected. In the tractate *Asclepius*, Asclepius makes a distinction between creator and demiurge, but here too, the latter is not the "evil god" of Gnosis. In the Coptic *Asclepius*, there is an assertion that the cosmos is good (*agathos*), and all of nature is viewed as divine.

e) By means of the cosmos as instrument, the sun is craftsman of all.

In *Asclepius* 18, the motif of the sun is used as an analogy: "as the sun lights up the world, so the human mind shines with the light of consciousness, but it is greater …". This is reminiscent of Philo's analogy of the sunlight as a reflection of a greater reality (see 5.2.6). Hermes Trismegistus says "[The material god] is the cosmos, which is beautiful but not good. For it is material and easily affected". In *Corpus Hermeticum* 16.18, influence from the thought of the Middle Platonist Posidonius is perceptible in the identification of the sun as the creator. Asclepius explains to king Ammon:

"Therefore, the father of all is god; their craftsman is the sun; and the cosmos is the instrument of craftsmanship. Intelligible essence governs heaven; heaven governs the gods; and demons posted by the gods govern humans. This is the army of gods and demons. [19] Through them god makes everything for himself, and all things are parts of god. But if all things are parts of god, then all things are god, and he makes himself in making all things. His making can never cease because he is ceaseless. And as god has no end, so his making has neither beginning nor end" (Copenhaver 1992:61).

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[49] Cf. Hekate Soteira, discussed in part 3.

This passage expresses the Platonic hierarchy as follows: god the Father of all/Intelligible essence, governs heaven. Heaven governs the gods, who post daemons who govern humans. By means of the cosmos as instrument the sun is craftsman of all. This aspect of the sun depicted as creator, in this context functioning as a ceaseless demiurge, conveys an Egyptian ethos in the certainty of the regularity of the sun's appearance. It appears, but is not absolutely clear, that the sun is likened to god the Intelligible essence. This is pertinent to the Hermetic concept of heavenly ascent.

6.2.2 HEAVENLY ASCENT

"Therefore, we must dare to say that the human on earth is a mortal god but that god in heaven is an immortal human. Through these two, then, cosmos and human, all things exist, but they exist by action of the one". (*Corpus Hermeticum* X.25, Copenhaver 1992:36).

In *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.24, 25 and 26 Poimandres explains to Hermes about "the way up - how it happens" (τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς γινομένης). This entails passing through seven zones to the ogdoadic region[50] where the human being, having given over his "temperament" to the daemon, so that it is inactive, "rushes up through the cosmic framework and finally enters into god":

"The body's senses rise up and flow back to their particular sources, becoming separate parts and mingling again with the energies. And feeling and longing go on toward irrational nature. [25] Thence the human being rushes up through the cosmic framework ...."

The passage through seven zones is described,[51] and followed with a description in 1.26 where the similarities with *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* and Philo's description of heavenly ascent are striking:

"And then, stripped of the effects of the cosmic framework, the human enters the region of the ogdoad; he has his own proper power, and along with the blessed he hymns the father".

The text continues by explaining the rationale behind "deification":

καὶ τότε τάξει ἀνέρχονται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς δυνάμεις ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόασι, καὶ δυνάμεις γενόμενοι ἐν θεῷ γίνονται.

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[50] Cf. the similar process described in *Discourse of the Eighth and Ninth*.

[51] The actual mechanism involved in heavenly ascent, by means of the sun's rays and/or fire, is described in the *Chaldean Oracles*.

τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκόσι, θεωθῆναι. "They rise up to the father in order and surrender themselves to the powers, and, having become powers, they enter into god. This is the final good for those who have received knowledge: to be made god" (Copenhaver 1992:6).[52]

This description of heavenly ascent goes further than that of Philo in *Op*. 69-71. The greater detail probably indicates that it was written later than Philo's description. Thus here *Corpus Hermeticum* I.25 and I.26 defines deification clearly as "finally entering into god, … to be made god".

6.2.3 DEIFICATION AND AMBIGUITY

An interesting aspect of *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.25 is the ambiguity so characteristic of Jewish angelology, whereby in the overall context of the enormity of Poimandres' range, the human is said to have "so enormous" a range that he "comes to be on high without leaving earth behind." This forces the question of what sort of a being the enormous Poimandres actually is, and by implication, blurs the distinction between human and divine beings. This blurring of the distinction between angels and humans in the context of the *Corpus Hermeticum's* concept of deification, is incorporated into the structure of the text: the Hermetic tractates often reverse roles - the teacher may well pose as a pupil in the next tractate, for instance in tractate XI of the *Corpus Hermeticum* Hermes *Trismegistus* sits at the feet of *Nous*, a hypostasis of the highest Hermetic authority. Whereas in *Corpus Hermeticum* 1 Poimandres explains the process of heavenly ascent to Hermes, in *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.25 Hermes *Trismegistus* explains the process to Tat.[53]

> "For none of the heavenly gods will go down to earth, leaving behind the bounds of heaven, yet the human rises up to heaven and takes its measure and knows

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[52] Clement of Alexandria (*Quis Dives Salvetur* 37) explains the Coptic understanding of deification, which is a distinctly Christian version of the gnostically oriented explanation above: "For this He came down, for this He assumed human nature, for this He willingly endured the sufferings of man, that by being reduced to the measure of our weakness He might raise us to the measure of His power". In *Protrepticus* 1.8.4 he writes "The Word of God became man just that you may learn from a Man how it may be that man should become god." Malaty (1995:15) clarifies the difference between the concept of deification in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and that of the Alexandrian Fathers. He notes that many scholars see the core of Alexandrian theology as deification or "the grace of renewal". He explains the concept of deification as follows (1995:379): "By deification the Alexandrians mean the renewal of human nature as a whole, to attain the characteristics of our Lord Jesus Christ in place of the corrupt human nature, so that the believer may enjoy partaking in the divine nature (2 Peter 1:4) or the new man in the image of His Creator" (Col. 3:10).
[53] Hornung (2001:51-52) suggests that Tat is probably Thoth.

> what is in its heights and its depths, and he understands all else exactly and - greater than all of this - he comes to be on high without leaving earth behind, so enormous is his range."

This clear statement that none of the heavenly gods will go down to earth seems to indicate that the gods of the Hermetic system cannot be equated with ἄγγελοι, and confirms the Platonic hierarchy described in *Corpus Hermeticum* 16.18. Yet in the next breath as it were, this assumption is denied: in *Corpus Hermeticum* 11.20, *Nous* addresses Hermes on this subject.

> "If you can do these things, can god not do them? ... Thus, unless you make yourself equal to god, you cannot understand god; like is understood by like. ... Having conceived that nothing is impossible to you, consider yourself immortal."

The ambiguity thus actually serves the vital purpose of paving the way for the concept of the potential for deification of humans – i.e. "salvation" in the *Corpus Hermeticum* sense. In *Asclepius* 6, one of the chief characteristics of Gnosticism, the antagonism to the material world,[54] is expressed in relation to deification:

> "Because of this, Asclepius, a human being is a great wonder, a living thing to be worshipped and honoured: for he changes his nature into a god's, as if he were a god; he knows the demonic kind inasmuch as he recognizes that he originated among them; he despises the part of him that is human nature, having put his trust in the divinity of his other part. How much happier is the blend of human nature! Conjoined to the gods by a kindred divinity,[55] he despises inwardly that part of him in which he is earthly."

In *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.7 Hermes *Trismegistus* explains deification to Tat as "the changes that belong to any separated soul" (Copenhaver 1992:31). He goes on to define "separated" as follows:

> "… all the souls whirled about in all the cosmos come from the one soul of the all. .... the vice of soul is ignorance ..... [9] The virtue of soul, by contrast, is knowledge; for one who knows is good and reverent and already divine."

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[54] Holzhausen (2004:849) states that all Hermetic texts have in common a polemic against physicality and sensual perceptions (*Corpus Hermeticum* 7 and 13.6). This agrees with Philo's disparaging allegorical identification of Egypt as earthiness/physicality as opposed to spirituality (*De Congresssu* 118, and Leg. III.16: "For Egypt is the symbol of corporeal and external goods."(trans. Marcus 1961:200).

[55] Cf. Ephesians 2:6.

Holzhausen (2004:849) describes deification in *Corpus Hermeticum* 13 as the act of recognising god.[56] The Platonic split between the material and the ideal is resorted to when the author goes on to explain in *Corpus Hermeticum* 10.10, that the material cosmos is beautiful, but not good, because it is easily affected (Copenhaver 1992:32).[57]

6.2.4 DISCUSSION

Iamblichus (*de Myst.* 8.4.266-6.268) states that the Egyptians

> "distinguish both the life of the soul (ψυχή) and that of the intellect (νοῦς) from the life of nature, and not just in the cosmic sphere, but as regards us [men] as well. .... they [the Egyptians] ... encourage one to ascend by hieratic theurgy to the higher and more universal regions that are placed above fate, to God the creator. ... Hermes showed this way too, and the prophet Bitys translated it to King Ammon, finding it inscribed in hieroglyphic characters in a sanctuary at Saïs in Egypt. He handed on the name of God that extends through all the world." (trans. Clarke *et al* 2003:319).

This is interesting evidence of the concept of heavenly ascent originating in ancient Egypt, which on the surface, seems to be unrelated to Jewish *merkabah* mysticism, unless one accepts the influence of Egypt in earlier Jewish religion. In *Asclepius* the sun is alluded to as the creator, and a devolving hierarchy of emanations is described. In the association of sun, fire and light with a concept of a hierarchy of intermediary beings, some of which are bad and some good, in combination with the ideal of a re-unification with God, the *Corpus Hermeticum* displays a marked blending of Egyptian and Platonic elements.

In *Corpus Hermeticum* 1, the enormous angelic-like being which appears displays the usual motif associated with angelic activity, fire. In 1.6 the motif of fire is brought into relation with the motif of light. Poimandres explains who he is in a far-reaching statement, encompassing a description of his pre-existence as light, mind, and as the son of god:

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[56] In *Corpus Hermeticum* 1.26 this only takes place after death.
[57] Corpus Hermeticum XIII.12-13 explains man's present imprisonment as a result of his birth under the control of the Zodiac. Salvation therefore is the replacement of this physical birth by a divine birth (i.e. regeneration). This regeneration frees Tat from the former limits to his perception and knowledge, and by making him divine, makes him immortal and puts him into communion with the "powers" who fill the heavens with hymns of praise.

"I am the light you saw, mind, your god," he said, "who existed before the watery nature that appeared out of darkness. The light-giving word who came from mind is the son of god" (Copenhaver 1992:2).

6.2.5 CONCLUSION

Fowden (1986:75) strives to make an interpretation of what the cultural interactions of the syncretistic context of the *Corpus Hermeticum* actually produced in terms of an overall Hermetic world-view. I would summarise the essence of this as the goal expressed in *Poimandres*: "I wish to comprehend being and understand its nature and know god" (*Corpus Hermeticum* 1.7). This is essentially the goal of "heavenly ascent" which had been gathering momentum since the onset of Hellenism. The main thrust of the significance of the *Corpus Hermeticum* in terms of angelology, lies in the concept of heavenly ascent as leading to deification. Seen from the Christian point of view, the strange combination of a complex of orientations ranging from a view of self-knowledge as the key to salvation, striving for an intellectual explanation combined with insistence that all knowledge is obtained through revelation from God, is part of the historical and intellectual aftermath of the provision of salvation through the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ.

Egyptian elements, for instance the sun as creator are clearly evident. The absence of the throne motif in the *Corpus Hermeticum* confirms its abstract, Platonic orientation. The complexity and ambiguity of human potential for deification develops in this context of the search for an intellectual conception of salvation. The following section on the *Chaldean Oracles* is another demonstration of the combination of Jewish angelological elements in a Neoplatonic setting, with clear "magical" associations.

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6.3   SECTION 3. THE *CHALDEAN ORACLES*

6.3.1 THE ORIGIN AND DATE

Johnston (1990:71) following Bousset, suggests that during the first and second centuries CE the roles of cosmic intermediaries became increasingly important because of the belief in the gulf between humans and an absolutely transcendent God, as expressed for instance by the Gnostics. Hurtado (1988:25) counters this statement, calling it "Bousset's misleading claim", but the claim is not that the angels function "as substitutes for God" - they function as connecting entities. In this respect they are indeed servants of God, functioning "as vehicles of his power and will", as Hurtado (1988:25) would wish it to be understood. In the *Chaldean Oracles* this function of angels as servants of God is combined with the concept of heavenly flight as the solution to the perceived gulf between humans and God, and is elaborated in Neoplatonic terms. Lewy (1978:312) pointed out that the *Chaldean Oracles* belong to an age when the same religious tendencies were being expressed in a variety of contexts.[58] He has demonstrated (1978:14 n. 32, 162) that the Chaldean system of intermediaries is derived from the Jewish system of angelology.

The *Chaldean Oracles* were written down by Julian "the Theurgist", son of Julian "the Chaldean" in the late second century CE. The author of the *Chaldean Oracles* claims to have obtained the *Oracles* by the use of a medium. Dillon (1977:393) suspects that in this respect the *Oracles* may have been a deliberate fraud, and Dodds (1951:284) wryly comments that it is plain that the gods who spoke through Julian were influenced themselves to some extent by contemporary Platonism. Majercik (1989:5) and Lewy (1978:313) see Chaldean theology as reflecting a Middle Platonic origin, with a particular stress on the transcendence of the Highest God. Lewy (1978:441) recognises that in this fusion of Platonism with mysticism and magic, there are "oriental" elements as well. It is likely that these elements have roots in earlier centuries.

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[58] Dillon (1977:396) describes this strand of belief existing in the first and second centuries CE as "Some form of contemporary Platonism - the 'underworld of Platonism'".

Although the *Chaldean Oracles* subsequently remained influential for more than 250 years (Lewy 1978:74), only fragments remain, embedded in the writings of various Neoplatonists, especially Proclus. Athaniassiadi and Frede (1999:13) assess the *Chaldean Oracles* to be monotheistic,[59] but on the surface they are often ambiguous in this regard, partly because of the conflicting way in which the fragments have been interpreted by the authors through whom they have come down to us (mainly Proclus, 410-485 CE and Damascius, c.462-537 CE). All translations quoted below are by Majercik (1989) unless stated otherwise.

6.3.2 THE MONAD AND THE DIVINE TRIAD

The "Monad" is a Pythagorean term for the Highest God in Chaldean, Hermetic and Gnostic thought. Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7 is clearly under the influence of Platonic philosophy, and helps to clarify the way in which these three interconnected systems of the "underworld of Platonism" developed. In each of these systems, the sole function of the Monad or First God or Father, is to "think" the Platonic world of Ideas.[60] Each of these three systems develops the concept of a Second God or Demiurgic Intellect which has a Dyadic nature, which actually begins the process of division which ultimately leads to creation and generation. In Neoplatonism there are two hypostases of the Supreme Father: the Paternal Intellect which conveys the Supreme Father's thoughts or ideas, represented as lightning/thunder, and the Paternal Power which conveys the Soul's "fire" or life-giving potency (Johnston 1990:65). Sometimes in the *Chaldean Oracles* the supreme God (*Nous*) is the Father, as is the case in the *Apocryphon of John*,[61] but in other fragments the Paternal Intellect is the first emanation of the Father (Majercik 1989:6). In the *Chaldean Oracles* and in the *Apocryphon of John*, a third god is situated

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[59] By the end of the second century CE, philosophers usually accepted that there is a God "who is the most important cause or principle of reality and who is provident ... not just the highest of a plurality of gods, but as unique in his divinity" (Athanassiadi and Frede 1999:57).

[60] See Plato, *Tim.* 46D: "Thus as we must affirm, the one and only existing thing which has the property of acquiring thought is Soul, and Soul is invisible, whereas fire and water and earth and sun are all visible bodies", and the *Chaldean Oracles* Frg. 37 (Proclus): "The Intellect of the Father, while thinking with its vigorous will, shot forth the multiformed Ideas ... The first self-perfected Source of the Father spouted forth these primordial Ideas" (trans. Majercik 1989:63). The Memphite Theology (see 2.3) also expresses this concept of creation.

[61] Synopsis 5.3: "The Monad [is a unity with nothing] above it. [It is he who exists] as [God] and Father of the All".

as a median figure between the first and second gods (see 6.1.1.2, the Upper Theogeny). This ambiguous mythic figure is a female principle, Hecate in the *Chaldean Oracles,* Sophia in the *Apocryphon of John*, and in Philo's *corpus* she is the Jewish figure of Wisdom, assimilated by Plutarch to the Egyptian Isis.[62] This principle is directly responsible for material creation and can be equated with the World Soul described in Plato's *Timaeus*. In the *Corpus Hermeticum* she is Life or Nature (Majercik 1989:4).

To summarise, in some fragments of the *Chaldean Oracles* the Highest God is absolutely transcendent, "snatched away" or "existing outside" his products, but in other fragments the highest entities are a "First", "Paternal Intellect", "Monad" or "One", and a second demiurgic Intellect, who proceeds from the "Father". Within the "Paternal Intellect" is a female Power called Hecate, who is comparable to the Platonic World Soul (cf. Frg. 3, quoted in 6.3.4.1, in which the Father is described as fiery in nature).[63] All influences travelling between the intelligible and sensible realms pass through Hecate (Copenhaver 1992:xxv). In the *Chaldean Oracles* the Supreme God, Father, or First Intellect is regarded triadically as a three-in-one deity. In the Gnostic systems, this triple-powered One or Monad, is said to be constituted of Existence ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ, Life ⲱⲛϩ, and Thought ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ (νοῦς). In the *Apocryphon of John* it is Father, Mother/Spirit and Son. The Coptic expression ⲡⲁ ⲧϣⲁⲙⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲁⲙ is translated by the Greek word τριδύναμος (the triad of "Existence", Life" and "Intelligence").[64] Majercik (1989:8) recognises that this triadic concept of deity reflects an important interchange between Platonism and the "Platonic Underworld", and Pearson (1984b:65) confirms that these phrases which become technical terms in the vocabulary of Neoplatonism, used both of the human soul and of God, provide additional evidence of intellectual interaction between Gnostics and Platonist scholars in late antiquity.

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[62] Talbert (1976:435) suggests that the cluster of titles such as Word-Wisdom-Son-Angel-Spirit existed from pre-Christian times in certain circles of Hellenistic Judaism and were used to express the concept of a heavenly redeemer figure. In hellenistic Judaism Moses was represented as Orpheus and Hermes-Tat, and the Jewish "wisdom" figure, "Sophia", was equated with that "Female Principle in nature" which Plutarch identified as Isis, the ancient Egyptian goddess of the royal throne and mother of Horus.

[63] Hecate in this context is not regarded as an evil or demonic figure. See 6.3.3.2 below.

Frg. 27 (Damascius) states παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει, "For in every world shines a triad, ruled by a Monad", and Frg. 44 (Lydus) of the *Chaldean Oracles* reveals that the Chaldeans perceived the entire soul as a divine triad:

..... ψυχαῖον σπινθῆρα δυσὶν κράσας ὁμονοίαις,
νῷ καὶ νεύματι θείῳ, ἐφ᾽ οἷς τρίτον ἁγνὸν ἔρωτα,
συνδετικὸν πάντων ἐπιβήτορα σεμνόν, ἔθηκεν.

"(The Father) mixed the spark of soul with two harmonious qualities, Intellect and Divine Will, to which he added a third, pure Love, as the guide and holy bond of all things".

Frg. 22 (Proclus)[65] expresses the same concept in a different way, and at the same time puts Athanassiadi and Frede's contention that the *Chaldean Oracles* are monotheistic into perspective:

"Thus in the *Oracles* (λογίοις) as well the actions of the gods and of the Father himself are revealed by them through speech, as when it says: 'For the Intellect of the Father said for all things to separate into three, governing all things by the Intellect <of the very first> eternal <Father> (<πρωτίστου πατρός>)'. He nodded his assent to this and immediately all things were separated."

In accordance with Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7, the various substances of the soul have a natural tendency to return to the place of their origin: the Spark gives the soul immortal life, the Intellect gives the ability to think divine things, Will gives the decision to descend to earth and to return from there to the realm of the noetic beings, and Eros, who binds together the parts of the soul, keeps alive the nostalgia for the divine (Lewy 1978:180). The Chaldean system necessitates intermediaries for this return to the realm of the noetic beings.

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[64] Also present in *Apocryphon of John* version II 5:8 and BG 27:19-28.2 as ⲧϢⲟⲙⲧⲉ Ⲛ̄Ϭⲟⲙ and ⲧϢⲟ(ⲙ) Ⲛⲧⲉ Ⲛ̄Ϭⲟⲙ respectively (Waldstein and Wisse 1995:34, 35, synopsis 12).

[65] Proclus' *Elements of Theology* describes the Chaldean triad as follows: "an Ennead of three triads with predominating terms: *Father*, power, intellect; father *Power,* intellect; father, power, *Intellect.*" (Lewy 1978:106, 107).

6.3.3 THE CHALDEAN HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM OF INTERMEDIARIES

Lewy (1978:10) finds the clearest statement about the three orders of Chaldean intermediaries in a mystic hymn quoted by Porphyry in his second book of *Philosophy of the Chaldean Oracles*, which he regards as a genuine *Chaldean Oracle* fragment.[66]   The last 6 lines are translated by Lewy as follows:

> "Therefrom flow the procreations of the Holy Rulers, who are about Thee,
> most kingly All-Father and only Father of the mortals and of the happy immortals.
> The others are separated, though descending from Thee,
> and transmit everything in messages to Thy first-born Intellect, and to Thy Might.
> Beside these, Thou hast also created a third class of Rulers,
> who constantly bear Thee and praise Thee in their songs."

The first two lines quoted refer to the first order of Chaldean intermediaries - the archangels who perpetually surround the highest God. The last two lines refer to the third order, which corresponds to the *cherubim* and *ophanim* who bear the *merkabah* of the Supreme God, and the *seraphim* who praise God and sing the *Trisagion.* Lewy identifies the middle two lines as describing the *Iynges* and their function as the second order:

αἰ δ' εἰσὶν ἄτερθεν ἐκ σέο μὲν γεγαῶσαι,
ὑπ' ἀγγελίαισι δ' ἕκαστα πρεσθυγενεῖ διάγουσι νόῳ καὶ κάρτει τῷ σῷ.

These two middle lines describe the *Iynges* as the messengers of the "First-born Intellect" and of the "Might" (δύναμις) of the Supreme God. These two titles are two hypostases of the supreme "Father" - a necessary concept because according to the Chaldean system the supreme Father has no contact with the lower world (Lewy 1978:14).   The *Iynges* are only referred to indirectly in the *Chaldean Oracles* (Majercik 1989:171-175, Frgs. 73-87), but ancient commentators on the *Chaldean Oracles* give a clear picture of their functions and nature as reflected there.

Lewy (1978:438) describes the result of his analysis of the Chaldean view of the *Iynges* as follows:

> "These magical beings, which maintain the communication between the Supreme
> God and the Theurgists, are called in the Oracles, 'Powers of the Father', i.e.

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[66] Dodds (1978:695) accepts this hymn as a genuine Chaldean oracle, although he is doubtful about the validity of some of the other fragments that Lewy has added to Kroll's original collection.

Ideas, 'Transmitters' of His commandments, i.e. angels, 'Unspeakable names', i.e. magical formulae, and on the other hand spirits of the spheres which hold the planets in their courses." [67]

Subsequent to their use as an attracting force in magic, under the influence of Plato's spiritualization of Eros, the *Iynges* came to mean the "binding" force between mankind and the gods (Majercik 1989:9). Athanassiadi (1999:172) identifies the *Iynges* with the Platonic ideas, and Lewy (1978:132, 163) identifies them with the "thoughts" of the Father - they function as noetic entities equivalent to the Thoughts or Ideas of the Paternal Intellect. This is borne out by Frg. 77: "The (*Iynges*) which are thought by the Father also think themselves, since they are moved by his unspeakable counsels so as to think." The Iynges are the mediators of messages (Majercik 1989:9), thus according to Lewy 1978:163) they are Plato's good daemons who "interpret between gods and men, conveying and taking across to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods" (Plato *Symp*. *Conviv*. 202 E). The *Iynge*s are identified by the later Pythagoreans and Platonists with Jewish and Persian angels. Thus the function that Plato assigned to *daemons* is the role that the *Chaldaean Oracles* gives to *Iynges* as intermediaries between gods and men (Dickie 2001:207). Burkert (1985:180) defines Plato's term *daemon* in more abstract terms as a specific mode of activity, a "force that drives man forward where no agent can be named - the veiled countenance of divine activity".

6.3.3.1 *IYNGES* AS SWIFT MESSENGERS OF THE THOUGHTS OF THE SUPREME FATHER

In Frg. 78 (Damascius) the *Iynges* are the διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες "couriers/ferrymen" who transmit messages between the intelligible and sensible worlds, i.e. from and to the Father:

οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ μαγειῶν πατέρες εἴς τε τὸ ἐμφανὲς πάντα προάγουσιν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς περιάγουσιν, ὡς ἂν

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[67] The *Iynges* have a cosmic function because of their connection with the powers known as the "upholders" (ἀνοχεῖν) (Lewy 1978:135). Lewy (1978:136, n. 263) notes that Hermias (*Phaedr*. 248 c. 3) explains that certain "upholding demons" (δαιμονές τινες ἀνοχεῖς) prevent the souls which have contemplated the Being from "falling down" into the world of becoming (cf. Fig. 2).

" .... διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες ..."

κατὰ <τὸ> λόγιον φάναι, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ .

> "For the fathers who preside over magical operations cause all things to appear and then to disappear, since 'they are couriers ...' to the Father and to matter, to speak according to the oracle" (Majercik 1989:81).[68]

Lewy (1978:132-3) confirms that the subject of this description in Frg. 78 is to be understood as the *Iynges*, which he describes as "the thoughts of the Supreme Being: thinking through circular motion," and Majercik (1989:172) quotes Proclus *In Crat*. 33. 14 as stating that "These 'couriers' are the *Iynges*". Johnston (1990:106) describes their function as to aid in the establishment of a sympathetic link between theurgist and God, therefore promoting the ascension of the soul and transmission of divine information to men. The duty of these "assimilative ferrymen" is to draw towards the noetic, demiurgical Monad those things existing below it, and again to draw all things from the Monad down to the material world (cf. Hecate in Appendix 4).

In Frg. 87 (Proclus) the activities of the *Iynges* are described in terms of whirling or rushing movement (Johnston 1990:92)

> ἀλλ᾽ ὄνομα σεμνὸν καὶ ἀκοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι
> κόσμοις ἐνθρῶσκον κραιπνὴν διὰ πατρὸς ἐνιπήν.
> "But a holy name, in sleepless motion,
> leaps into the worlds at the hasty command of the Father."

Johnston (1990:92 n.7) notes that the term "ferrymen" is derived from *Symp*. 202E3 where Plato's mediating daemons are described. She states that modern scholars of the *Oracles* agree that the *Iynges* are cosmologically mediating or transmitting entities in the Chaldean system. The *Iynges*' role as ferrymen is also reflected by Proclus' paraphrase of Frg. 87: "these ineffable causes [the *Iynges*] are called 'swift' by the oracles, and hastening away from the Father hasten again back towards him", i.e. they effect transfers between the noetic and material spheres and help to implement the creation of the hylic

(material) portion of the universe (Johnston 1990:92). Majercik (1989:175) understands the expression ἀχοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι to convey the image of the *Iynges* as moving out from and back towards the Father in a ceaseless, circular motion, and compares this to στρόφαλον in Frg. 206, with reference to Hecate's "magic wheel". Lewy (1978:133-134) describes the *Iynges* as represented as "fiery bodies, of the nature of lightning … regarded as messengers of the gods … who swiftly hasten forth from the Father and back towards Him … leaping in tireless revolution into the worlds at the mighty command of the Father, as the thoughts of the Supreme Being: thinking through circular motion". The similarity here with Ez 1:14 is striking.

Lewy (1978:133-134) sees a connection of these noetic powers with the ritual of Hekate's magical top, which was originally derived from the *Iynx*, a long-necked ("wry-neck") bird which produced oracular sounds when spun during the original theurgic rites. This connection is interesting in the light of the association here of the 'tireless revolution' which hints at the express noting of the living beings as 'not turning' as they move in Ezekiel 1 and 10, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The movement is so similar to that described in Ezekiel 1:14 that the possibility must be considered that there is a connection between the *Iynges* in the *Chaldean Oracles* and the underlying angelic activity of Ezekiel 1 and 10. When the often repeated phrase "do not turn" is considered, the suspicion arises that the rabbis and the redactors or translators of the LXX of Ezekiel 1 may have wanted to hide the underlying angelic activity. For the connection to Jewish angelology as portrayed in Ezekiel 1 and 10 see 3.2.1 on Ezekiel 1:14, Appendix 4, and Fig. 3.

6.3.3.2 HEKATE SOTEIRA AS THE COSMIC SOUL AND CONNECTIVE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE DIVINE AND HUMAN WORLDS

Modern scholars are unanimous in accepting that the Chaldean system equated Hekate, who is a combination of philosophical concept and traditional goddess, with the Platonic Cosmic Soul (Johnston 1990:49, 153). The mediating, transmissive function of the

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[68] The term διαπόρθμιοι is derived from Plato *Symp. Conviv*. 202 E3. Johnston (1990:91, 92) notes that Damascius substitutes "magical fathers" for *Iynges* in this fragment, indicating that the *Iynges* are actually

Platonic Cosmic Soul (Hekate) made her an entity of great importance to the Chaldean theurgist (Johnston 1990:150). In her identity as the link beween God and man or the Intelligible and Sensible world (Johnston 1990:49), Hekate as the Cosmic soul fulfills three cosmological roles: a) transmitter of Ideas and thereby structurer of the physical world; b) dividing bond between the Noetic/Intelligible and Hylic/Sensible worlds, and c) the source of individual souls and the enlivener of the physical world and of men. The *Chaldean Oracles* thus portray Hekate as celestial and potentially beneficient, ensouling the cosmos and forming the connective boundary between the divine and human worlds. Hekate speaks in eleven of the two hundred and twenty-six extant fragments, functioning as both mediator and divider of the sensible and intelligible worlds (Johnston 1990:11). As the Cosmic Soul she served as the favourite intermediary between the world of God and the world of man (Johnston 1990:16). Cosmologically, the *Iynges* spring forth from Hekate's 'womb' as a result of her revolutions, thus they are themselves mediating links. According to Psellus, Hecate's 'magic wheel' was a golden disc embedded with a sapphire and inscribed with magical characters.

Frg. 206 is titled στρόφαλος ("Magic Wheel") :

> "ἐνέργει περὶ τὸν Ἑκατικὸν στρόφαλον."
> "Operate with the magic wheel of Hecate."

> ... Διδάσκει οὖν τὴν τελετὴν ἐνεργεῖν, ἤτοι τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ τοιούτου στροφάλου, ὡς δύναμιν ἀπόρρητον ἔχουσαν.
> "... Therefore (the oracle) teaches how to operate the rite, truly the movement of such a magic wheel, since it has ineffable power."

Psellus equates this instrument with the ἴυγξ. By spinning the wheel, the transcendent *Iynges* were "called on" and were attracted by the spinning movement (Majercik 1989:215). Because the *Iynges* help in the ascent of the soul by functioning as mediating or "binding" entities between the intelligible or noetic and sensible or hylic worlds, they ultimately became identified with the *symbola* or Platonic ideas because these entities

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the "magical fathers".

were believed to bridge the gap between God and mankind. These *symbola* are the "instruments" whereby the theurgist was believed to manipulate cosmic sympathy.[69]

As Middle Platonists, the Chaldeans believed that when the human soul enters the body it is no longer in the pure original state in which it was created. This is because in the course of its descent from the supramundane region, as it traverses the zones of the ether, sun, moon and the air, it is clothed with portions of these four substances. Once the soul is situated on its own vehicle it descends into generation, but as the vehicle becomes stained by material additions in its descent it remains unable to partake properly in the essential Good. The reason for this is that matter distorts the Good's emanation, and the soul and its vehicle must therefore be purified before it can ascend. The *Chaldean Oracles* emphasize the need for purification of the lower soul and its "vehicle" (ὄχημα-πνεῦμα) which keeps the soul fettered in matter, so that in order to free the soul from its irrational nature the theurgic rite is necessary.

6.3.3.3 THEURGY

Theurgy bridges the gap formed by the separation of the *ousiai* and the *energeiai* of embodied souls by uniting the *energeiai* of mortals with that of the gods (Shaw 1995:73), therefore the theory of cosmic sympathy forms the foundation of theurgy. This process depends on replicating appropriate elements of the larger divine world within the smaller human one. Theurgy was one of the ways in which supernatural heavenly flight was conceived and practiced, whereby theurgists were believed to ascend to divine realms while still living on earth.[70] The primary goal of the theurgist was ἀναγωγή - the

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[69] In its schematic representation, an *iynx* is a cone which begins in unity and becomes plurality through a vertiginous multiplication of itself. The Chaldeans sought ways to manipulate the natural unity of the Cosmos which was understood as the sympathy (συμπάθεια) that existed between the divine and human worlds, which united the noetic and sensible worlds (Johnston 1990:150). The Iynx was thus a theurgical tool of practical use in magic, and also a cosmological entity, necessary to the operation of the universe. The *iynx-daemones'* function is twofold: connective and transmissive. Hekate controls the dispersal of the divided Ideas/*Iynges* that descend, whirring and whistling, over the entire physical Cosmos (Johnston 1990:108).

[70] The *Chaldean Oracles* mention evil daemons which, in accordance with the beliefs of the time, were believed to inhabit all aspects of the sublunar world, and were responsible for the passionate element in humans as well as being the source of sickness, disease and cosmic calamities (Majercik 1989:13). In opposition, good demons help the soul in the ascent by "enkindling" the soul with divine fire, thereby "cutting out the stain" of the union of the soul with the body, and help in the fight against the evil spirits/daemons, who seek to prevent the soul's union with the divine and to drag the soul down (Lewy 1978:260).

temporary rising of the soul to the "intellectual fire" of the noetic realm while the body was still alive; the repetition of this ritual purified the soul. The vehicle, which houses both the rational and irrational souls, is purified and elevated by the divine light. For the anagogic process the Ideas/*symbola*/Iynges must first be sent by the Paternal intellect from the noetic sphere into man's world via the cosmic Soul, who disperses them. Once received, the *symbola* must be manipulated correctly to erect a bridge joining the theurgist to the divine (Johnston 1990:110). The ancient belief in the "Principle of Continuity" - that there could be no gaps or discordances in the universe, physically or theologically - meant that dissimilar entities must be unified by an entity that possesses characteristics of each. The middle entities, whether they were called *ideas*, *symbola* or *Iynges*, served as an interface between the world of God and the world of mankind (Johnston 1990:16). This concept is the essence of the mediation process, and can thus be seen in concept to be nothing other than the original Jewish angelic intermediary. However, the *Chaldean Oracles* are more specific than any description of Jewish intermediaries in that they entail Teletarchs as well. The Teletarchs are divine entities which function as rulers of the three worlds of Chaldean cosmology, and Majercik (1989:11) notes that they may well parallel similar notions in Philo and in Gnostic sources. The soul ascends on the "rays" of the sun aided by the theurgist (cf. Fig. 4). It is through the medium of the Teletarchs that the rays of the sun (the "Material Connectors") are conducted downward, and it is on these rays that the soul ascends, guided by the Teletarchs (Majercik 1989:12). They are responsible for purifying the ascending soul of material influences and also for guiding the soul on its journey upward. Yet another specialised concept, the Connectors ($\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\chi\hat{\epsilon}\varsigma$), are a separate entity (Majercik 1989:10). These are "connective" rays of the sun which assist the Teletarchs in the conducting of the soul upward. They emanate from the Father, the Primal Fire, like rays from the sun, disseminating stability and harmony throughout the Universe.

6.3.4 DISCUSSION

6.3.4.1 THE ROLE OF FIRE IN HEAVENLY ASCENT

Frg. 122: Proclus explains how the order of angels causes the soul to ascend:

"τὴν ψυχὴν φέγγουσα πυρί …."

"By making the soul bright with fire …"

Here Proclus explains that filling the soul with pure fire, gives it an

> "unswerving order and power through which it does not rush into material disorder but makes contact with the light of the divine beings."

The angelic order is one of the "chains" linking various aspects of the cosmos, and once the soul is filled with "divine fire" it is no longer weighed down by matter (Majercik 1989:188). In Chaldean cosmology the sun functions as the 'centre' of the universe,[71] and the sun and its rays supply the essential function for the accomplishment of the Chaldean mysteries (Lewy 1978:149). The power to elevate which is inherent in the human intellect is described in Frg. 85 (Proclus) as the "Fire's wing", and demonstrates the connection of the Teletarchs with fire:

> ὁ μὲν πρῶτος (τελετάρχης) ... ἡνιοχεῖ τὸν " ... ταρσὸν τοῦ πυρός ..."
> ὁ δὲ μέσος ... τελειοῖ ... τὸν αἰθέρα ...
> ὁ δὲ τρίτος ... τὴν ὕλην τελειοῖ.

> "The first (Teletarch) ... guides the ... 'wing of fire' ...
> the middle (Teletarch) .. perfects .. the ether ...
> the third (Teletarch) ... perfects matter"....

The motif of sun/fire runs through the angelology as traced in this dissertation, starting from Egyptian solar worship and it still retains its position as a central concept in the process of theurgy in the second century CE. The soul ascending to the noetic sphere is represented in the *Oracles* as a charioteer: "Pull the reins of the Fire with a wholly unadulterated soul" (παντόθεν ἀπλάστῳ ψυχῇ πυρὸς ἡνία τεῖνον) (Kroll 53 from Proclus, Lewy 1978:171). This metaphor is often said to be derived from Plato's

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[71] Majercik (1989:17) states "Chaldean cosmology, as a whole, is informed by a heliocentrism in which the sun functions as the 'heart' or 'center' of the Universe … In this regard, each of the three worlds can be viewed as a 'fiery' circle dominated, respectively, by the transmundane sun, mundane sun, and moon, each of which, in turn, is equated with one of the three Teletarchs." For evidence of heliocentrism, see Frgs. 58 and 111, both from Proclus, respectively: "But having heard from the Chaldean theurgists that God intercalated the sun among the seven (zones) and made the six other zones dependent upon it, and having heard from the gods themselves that the solar fire '… was established at the site of the heart …'. I follow what has been revealed by the gods" (Frg. 58), and "The intellectual (faculty) is well-wheeled … that which is borne around the intelligible as around a center: 'Urging yourself onward to the center of the clamorous light,' says one of the gods" (Frg. 111).

Phaedrus (247B),[72] but the term "Fire" is applied to the noetic substance of the human intellect that subsists in the soul which in the course of the ascent "spreads its wings" and serves as the soul's vehicle (Lewy 1978:171).

Frg. 3 (Psellus) describes the Father as fiery:

> … ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασσεν ἑαυτόν,
> οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ.
> "… The Father snatched himself away, and did not enclose his own fire in his intellectual Power."

The term ἥρπασσεν "rapt away" underscores the ontological separation of the Father, who exists apart from everything, this "radical transcendence" emphasising that the Father is ultimately beyond characterization (Majercik 1989:142).

Frg. 121 from Proclus, affirms the importance of fire in this system:

> Frg. 121: τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἕξει.
> "For the mortal who has approached the fire will possess the light from God."[73]

6.3.5 CONCLUSION

According to Majercik (1989:30) a developed doctrine of the ascent of the soul is clearly a Chaldean teaching. However, in my view, one of the foundational stepping stones for the concept of continuity as the key to mediation between heaven and earth, was Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7, and his concept of μεθόριος. This basically Middle Platonic orientation seems to be a remarkable intellectual explanation of the angelic activity which, upon close reading, is already to be found in Ez 1:14 and Ezekiel 10, later in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and then in the *Chaldean Oracles*. This transition is perceptible in the phenomenon of the presence of certain characteristic motifs of Jewish angelology, as identified in the foregoing texts, where the throne and sun/fire motif are

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[72] "But when they go to a feast and a banquet, they proceed steeply upward to the top of the vault of heaven, where the chariots of the gods, whose well matched horses obey the rein, advance easily, but the others with difficulty; for the horse of evil nature weighs the chariot down, making it heavy and pulling toward the earth the charioteer whose horse is not well trained" (trans. Colson and Whitaker 1929:475).

consistently present together. In Philo's writings, the motif of the throne of God is absent, nor does the *Corpus Hermeticum* mention the throne, and the *Apocryphon of John* only mentions it in a negative sense. In spite of the affinity with Ezekielian angelology, neither do the *Chaldean Oracles* mention the motif of the throne. The *seraphim*, by virtue of their fire association, according to Jewish angelology as represented for instance in Isa 6:1-4, retain their position of closeness to the "Father" in the *Chaldean Oracles*, yet in the same text, the motif of the throne is eliminated. Thus the motif of fire still plays a major role in the *Chaldean Oracles*, but in line with Middle Platonic concepts of ascent of the soul, now in the service of ἀναγωγός.[74]

The major angelological motifs of sun/fire and throne, which have appeared together in all the BCE texts dealt with up to chapter four, have become separated in the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in the *Chaldean Oracles*. Seen synchronically, the bifurcation of the combination of throne and solar/fire motifs reflects a telling paradigm shift in thought about angels. The intellectual explanation in the *Chaldean Oracles* of the process of relaying communication between the "Father" and mortals is a fascinating demonstration of how these primeval elements have been strained through the sieve of Platonism. In view of evidence from shamanic activity, i.e. the return to "the Father" via the rays of the sun, which function as "material connectors", the same process described in the *Chaldean Oracles* makes it clear that the *Chaldean Oracles* contain very ancient, universal mythological material. By this I imply that in all three these works belonging to the "underworld of Platonism" the throne motif as such has been eliminated to become an abstract Platonic concept of sovereignty, utterly separated from anthropomorphism, and the fire motif is related to ἀναγωγός. When one considers Philo's analogy about the sun as a motif reflecting deity (see chapter five), it seems possible that Philo may have been part of the development towards the abstraction of the throne motif and of the transition of the sun motif to the fire associations of ἀναγωγός.

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[73] Proclus explains: "(The 'approaching') allows us a greater communion and a more distinct participation in the light of the gods."

The phrase "do not turn" occurs in Ezekiel 1, 10, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The emphasis on this feature can at present only be explained in terms of a conservative author or redactor's denial of the "magical" angelic activity of returning rapidly, which is referred to in Ez 1:14, and mentioned in Philo as the activity of some souls which act as "ambassadors" for the "Great King". That the angelological content of Ezekiel 1 and 10 had "magical" connections to those angelological aspects which only emerged much later in the *Chaldean Oracles*, but was either not recognised or was of little or no concern until the *Chaldean Oracles* were written down in the middle of the second century CE, may confirm the suggestion that the tell-tale verse Ez 1:14 was excised from the text by a conservative translator of the Hebrew *Vorlage* into the Greek version.

As it stands, on the surface, the main problem with the hypothesis that the angelic activity in Ez 1:14 is linked to the "magical" activity of the *Iynges* reflected in the *Chaldean Oracles,* is the apparent lack of priority of the *Chaldean Oracles* text. The motif similarity and possibly even lexical connection is there (from the "Father" and back - "running to and fro" etc), but the actual age of the *Chaldean Oracles* is unknown. Ezekiel 1 and 10 is believed to have been written just after 600 BCE, the vision having been inspired during exile at the river Chebar in Babylon, whereas the *Chaldean Oracles*, although said to have been written down in the same geographical area, were written down in about c.150 CE in a middle Platonic milieu, and rediscovered a hundred years later by the Neoplatonists, mainly Proclus and Damascius. Nevertheless, I argue that the *Chaldean Oracles* arose out of ancient knowledge connected to mantic/divinatory practices going back much further than the second century CE.

The three-tiered system of angelic beings in the *Chaldean Oracles* appears to be based on Jewish angelology, but this influence also depends on priority, or must be attributed to a mutual source. Archeological activity over the past two hundred years has provided iconographical and literary evidence going back to at least 1000 BCE that undeniably

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[74] Allusion to the returning to "the Father" via the rays of the sun in Frgs. 85 and 87 of the *Chaldean Oracles*, seems to be a similar concept as that described in the San shaman ritual and akin in idea, to the ancient Egyptian concept witnessed to in Fig 4.

links the Jewish religion not only to polytheism, but to divinatory practices, usually defined as to do with "magic" (see chapter 2 and Appendices 1 and 4). Traces of divinatory practices are perceptible in the Hebrew Bible: for example, Abraham's covenant with YHWH ("but the bird was not divided"), Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; Saul and the witch of Endor. Either the "magical activity" is not remarked upon as in the first example, or the context is transformed, as in the second, or it is condemned as in the third example. The ancient connection detailed in Appendix 4 with YHWH, the Lord of the Ostriches, and Na'amah, strengthens the possibility of a connection between Ezekiel and *Chaldean Oracles,* provided that it is accepted that the *Chaldean Oracles* are based on much older material. [75]

In the next chapter, some of the seminal Gnostic elements discussed in this chapter, and which overlap with Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26, 27 and 2:7, will be seen to be in harmony with the deification aspect of Christianity.

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[75] The implication is that the origin of angelological material in the *Chaldean Oracles* which is similar to that in earlier Jewish writings was not as a result of Julian the theurgist's information by direct revelation in c. 150 CE, but that his apperceptive mass was rooted in far earlier cultural concepts.

CHAPTER 7

CHRISTIANITY

"The gap between early Christian theology and pre-Christian Jewish theology is not as wide as is sometimes assumed" (Rowland 1985b:36).

In this chapter, the following questions are addressed: how, during the first century CE in the Jewish monotheistic context, was the process of mediation between God and mankind believed to take place, and how did Jesus come to be viewed as equal to God and seated on God's throne in heaven? Answers are sought in two Christian texts which are clearly Jewish in orientation: the Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation. Eskola (2001:390) suggests that the earliest exaltation christology is incomprehensible unless seen against the background of Jewish *merkabah* mysticism. Until recently scholars considered *merkabah* texts to be too late to be the background to the letter to the Hebrews, but according to Eskola (2001:203) "pre-Christian *merkabah* writings have recently been given enormous weight in the study of angelic Christology".

Gieschen (2001:287) notes that the visible image of YHWH, especially on his throne, is often the central visionary experience in apocalyptic documents, and that Jewish mysticism developed from interest in this. Rowland (1994:509, 518) also recognises a close relationship between mysticism and apocalypticism. An ascent structure is clearly present in the Letter to the Hebrews in combination with the idea of a heavenly throne. This is investigated in relation to motifs of the early *merkabah* tradition which are also present in the Apocalypse of John, namely ascent to heaven and the vision of God on his throne.

7.1 *MERKABAH* MYSTICISM IN THE LETTER TO THE HEBREWS

"We have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, …" (Heb 8:1:b)

7.1.1 AUTHORSHIP, ADDRESSEES AND DATE OF COMPOSITION

Numerous candidates for authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews have been proposed. The oldest extant manuscript of Hebrews is Egyptian, dating from about 200 CE, in which Hebrews is placed after Romans (Koester 2001:21). This placement of Hebrews indicates that from the second century onwards the Alexandrians (Pantaenus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius) accepted the text as Pauline (Koester 2001:21). However, the canonical status of Hebrews was only recognised in both East and West by the end of the fourth century.[1] By the Reformation, Pauline authorship was rejected and by the 19th century other candidates were considered, such as a companion of Paul, e.g. Barnabas,[2] Apollos,[3] Silas,[4] Priscilla[5] and Aquila; or an unknown author (Attridge 1992:104). The title "To the Hebrews" was only appended around 200 CE, so even the identity of the addressees and where they lived is not certain. Regarding the date of composition, Attridge (1992:97) deduces that Hebrews must have been composed some time between 60 to 90 CE. Craddock (1998:8) notes that Clement discusses it in a letter dated 95 CE, so he extends Attridge's date by five years. Drane (2001:425) suggests that it was written in the period leading up to the persecution of the Christians by Nero in c. 65-68 CE.

The wide variety of proposals about the author, addressees and place of origin of the Letter to the Hebrews reflects the prevailing syncretism of the first two centuries. The syncretistic character of this letter suggests that an Alexandrian origin deserves serious consideration. Possible indications of an Egyptian origin of the letter to the Hebrews are presented in the Excursus below.

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[1] This was arrived at in the context of the Trinitarian controversy when the high christology of Heb 1:3 was commonly used against Arianism (Koester 2001:19, 31).

[2] Proposed by Tertullian. Barnabas was a Levite (Acts 4:36) and Hebrews has detailed knowledge of the levitical priesthood.

[3] A converging web of factors, detailed in the Excursus below, but not provable, suggests that Apollos is a strong candidate. He was Luther's choice (Craddock 1998:6). Arnold (2002:3) suggests "someone like Apollos".

[4] Hebrews has stylistic affinities with 1 Peter, which according to tradition is attributed to Silas. Silas was co-author of Thessalonians, the earliest of the New Testament texts. He worked with Timothy, whose name appears in Heb 13:23.

[5] A strong case for Priscilla has recently been made by Ruth Hoppin (2004:148), as a feminist contribution.

7.1.1.1 EXCURSUS

1. BIBLICAL INDICATIONS OF A POSSIBLE ALEXANDRIAN ORIGIN OF HEBREWS

Acts 2 states that amongst the many people who were present at Pentecost were Jews living in Egypt. Jews had lived continuously in Egypt from the time of Psammetichus II in 590 BCE.   Philo and Josephus state that there were about one million Jews in Alexandria in their time, and that the total population in Egypt outside of Alexandria was seven and a half million. Taken conservatively, one may still surmise that Alexandria had a proportionately high Jewish population and may well have been fertile soil for the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt, particularly as this phase has been demonstrated to have been Jewish in character. In Acts 18:12 Luke states that Apollos was an Alexandrian, which would "comport well with the affinities of Hebrews with Hellenistic Jewish traditions represented in Philo of Alexandria" (Attridge 1989:4). Apollos had a loose association with the Pauline mission (cf.1Cor 3:5-6; 16:12), and this would explain some of the similarities, as well as the differences from Paul's writings. Griggs (1988:16) refers to Acts 18:24 which describes Apollos as "a native Alexandrian who was eloquent and well-versed in the scriptures", and Acts 18:26-19:5 indicates that Apollos was teaching accurately concerning Jesus, although he knew only the baptism of John, (which explains why it was 'imperfect'). According to Acts 18:25 in the bilingual Western Text Codex *Bezae* (D), Apollos had been instructed in his homeland (ἐν τῆ πατρίδι) (Griggs 1988:16).   This implies that Christianity must have initially been taken to Egypt by approximately 50 CE.

2. INDIRECT INDICATIONS FROM QUMRAN

Danielou (1958:90, 113) confirms that there were early Christian missions to Egypt, and that there were Essenes there before 70 CE.   He suggests that the Epistle to the Hebrews may have been addressed to the *Therapeutae*, a branch of the Essenian movement living at Mareotis in Egypt that perhaps goes back to the exile of the Teacher of Righteousness from Qumran into Egypt (according to the *Hymns*) (Danielou 1958:90, 113). Eusebius, writing early in the 4th Century CE, considered the *Therapeutae* to be Christians of Jewish descent (Ferguson 1993:497).   He based this opinion on Philo's description of them in *De Vita Contemplativa* (Inowlocki 2004:327).   Griggs (1988:20, n. 44) mentions that Sozomen (5th C *Historia Ecclesia*) understands Philo to describe the monastic *Therapeutae* as "certain Jews who accepted Christianity, and yet retained the customs of their nation".   Schürer (revised 1979:597) states that the "hypothesis that the *Therapeutae* were members of an Egyptian branch of the Palestinian Essene movement deserves serious consideration". Koester (2001:60, 61) notes that in the context of the intense interest in angelology at Qumran, some scholars proposed that Hebrews was written to former members of the Dead Sea sect who had converted to Christianity but whose understanding of the new faith was obscured by elements from their former way of thought. Qumran associations may well be very important in that Melchizedek and the day of Atonement figure prominently in Hebrews and both motifs are present in texts from Qumran. According to the Habbakuk commentary, Qumran's Teacher of Righteousness was also a priest, and Judaism expected an ideal priest who, as the one true priest, should fulfil in the last days all the elements of the Jewish priestly office (Cullman 1956:86).   Because of his office, the High Priest is *the* proper mediator between God and his people. The fact that in ancient Egypt the pharaoh acted as a high priest because he was the only one who had the divinity necessary to be mediator, strengthens the possibility of a geographical association of the author of Hebrews with Egypt.

7.1.2 THE ANGELOLOGY OF HEBREWS

A striking aspect of Hebrews is that right in the beginning, in Heb 1:4-6, the author compares the Son of God to the angels, asserting his superiority as the "first begotten" whom the angels are required to worship in his position "on the right hand of the Majesty on high", where his rulership is to be for ever and ever. Commentators have pondered over the reason for this emphasis on the superiority of Jesus to the angels. However, the marked

presence in the writings of that time of the characteristic ambiguity of Jewish angelology, makes it imperative to distinguish and assert the difference between Jesus and angels. From Heb 1:4 to 2:16 the Son of God is compared, in the context of Jewish angelology, to the sons of God/the gods - בני אלים or בני אלוהים. If one reverts back to the original Hebrew terminology for angels as sons of God (see chapter 2, paragraph 2.2.6 b), the implications of the ramifications of the word play become apparent.[6] The need for the emphatic distinction between Jesus and angels and emphasis on his superiority intimates that Jesus was indeed perceived by some as an angelic figure. A remarkably fluid line between a divine emissary and Jesus as the ultimate divine mediator between God and mankind has been noted by other scholars, for example Long (1997:20) surmises that the first readers of *Hebrews* may have confused the work of Christ with the functioning of angels. Gruenwald (1988:7) stresses that the angelology inherent in apocalypticism played a central role in the revision of mythological concepts in "certain circles in Second-Temple Judaism".[7] In Heb 2:14-16 the ambiguity is clarified by the way in which the incompetence of an angel to act as high priest is compared to that of Jesus who "took on (him) the seed of Abraham" (KJV 2:16).

The stress on the superiority of Jesus is reinforced in Heb 1:7 where the author quotes Psalm 103:4 (LXX): ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγελοὺς αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον (Nestle-Aland has πυρὸς φλόγα). At Heb 1:14 the author uses sophisticated rhetoric to, as it were, put the angels in their place in relation to Jesus.[8] He rephrases the above statement by alluding to Ps 103:20-21 by means of a rhetorical question: "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who

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[6] For example 2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7; Rom 8:29.
[7] VanderKam (1998:312-315) discusses characteristic elements of apocalypticism, of which the following are present in Hebrews: the doctrine of two ages (Heb 1:2 "these last days" as opposed to "time past in Heb 1:1); "the resurgent influence of myths of creation used to frame history and to lend history transcendent significance" (4:4 and 11:3); and dualism and periodization of history (Heb 9:9-10). VanderKam (1998:318) notes that an inner and an outer group is always present in apocalyptic texts (Heb 3:8-12; 10:27-29). Gruenwald (1988:5) notes that ascent to the Majesty on high is always present (Heb 10:12-13; 12:2, 22-23). He recognises that apocalypticism presents a new concept of soteriological knowledge (1988:iv). This concept is certainly prominent in Hebrews 7.
[8] Guthrie (2002:5,6) notes that the author has had advanced training in rhetoric, and suggests Appollos as the author because he was a native of Alexandria, a major centre for training in rhetoric.

are to obtain salvation?" The LXX version of these verses (Ps. 102) describes the angels of God as "mighty ones who do his bidding" (δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι ποιοῦντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ), and in parallel "his ministers/servants that do his will" (λειτουργοὶ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θελήματα αὐτοῦ). By not quoting these verses directly, the author avoids describing angels as "mighty ones", but emphasises that they are simply to perform the bidding of the Lord. However, it is clear from Heb 13:1 that the author does not negate the reality or value of angels. Here in the closing chapter, the typical Jewish ambiguity concerning angelic activity, as well as the desireablity of entertaining them, is included in the closing chapter: "Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares". Logically the implication of Heb 13:1 is that angelic visitation on earth could still happen at any time in the future.[9]

7.1.2.1 PSALM 110 IN THE SERVICE OF *MERKABAH* MYSTICISM

Hengel (1995:xiv) asks how it was possible that from the very beginning of Christianity Christ was exalted to the right hand of God. He identifies the crux of the problem as when and where the idea of Jesus sitting at the right hand of God was developed (1995:134). Heb 7:1-28 establishes Christ's priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek. In 7:1-10 a midrash about Melchizedek is an exposition of Gen 14:17-20 with Psalm 110:4 in mind.[10] In Heb 7:1-21 the author discusses the order of Melchizedek and here it is clear that Melchizedek is regarded as an elevated heavenly figure: "resembling the Son of God he continues a priest forever" (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4; Heb 7:3,17). In Heb 7:22 a transitional passage leads to Heb 8:1, where the climax of the argument asserts Christ's superiority in his sacrifice of himself.

Except at Heb 1:7 in the allusion to Psalm 104:4: "his angels winds" ("spirits" in KJV) in parallel with "his servants flames of fire", the throne motif appears in Hebrews

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[9] Cf. the story of *Tobit*: Raphael comes to earth and is entertained "unawares" by Tobit and his son, in order to effect healing. After revealing his identity he ascends to heaven. This similarity to Christianity is one of the puzzling aspects of the *Book of Tobit* in relation to dating. (The *incognito* appearance of Raphael is the essence of the plot, so is not just a superficial "Christianizing" as is believed to have happened with some of the Gnostic texts).

[10] In Gen 14:18 Melchizedek is called a priest of the God Most High, and in Heb 7:2 a priest-king from the city of Salem, king of righteousness.

without the fiery association. Instead of the fiery association the throne motif is accompanied by an allusion to Psalm 110. The throne of God is mentioned in Heb 1:8; 8:1 and 12:2, and by implication at Heb 1:3, 13; 9:24; 10:12 in the context of Jesus at the right hand of God. Jesus is seated on God's throne, which was considered to be the most holy place of all - the enthroned Christ sits where the king of Israel should be sitting. Four characteristics of early Jewish *merkabah* mysticism, either directly or by implication, are evident in Hebrews: God's heavenly throne (Heb 1:3, 8, 13; 8:1; 10:12, 13; 12:2), God's majesty and holiness (Heb 1:3; 8:1; 12:10; 12:29), the heavenly Temple[11] (Heb 6:19; 8:2, 5; 9:11, 12, 24; 10:19-21), and heavenly worship (Heb 5:1; 12:22; 13:15).

Kraus (1989:353) summarises the "supreme significance" of Ps 110 as a) "Yahweh himself exalts the king and places him at his right hand, he nominates and empowers him as the co-regent; b) the enthroned is adjudged to be of heavenly birth; c) he is declared to be a priest (after the order of Melchizedek); d) through him and in his presence, Yahweh, the world judge and war hero, overcomes all enemies." Thus the resurrected Christ, as the object of worship on the throne, would have been acceptable to Jews because firstly, the central metaphor was still the original Jewish *merkabah* throne of God, and secondly, the concept of heavenly ascent to the throne of God for certain righteous individuals had already been in the air for centuries (e.g. *I Enoch Book of Watchers* and Daniel).[12]

Because Psalm 110 with its Egyptian undertones surfaces throughout the text (1:13; 5:6; 8:1; 10:12, 13; 12:2), the question arises as to what extent the distinctive, early Christian understanding of the relation between the Father and the Son, who both sit on the *merkabah* throne[13] correspond to the Egyptian and Jewish analogies. Evidence that the

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[11] By implication only.

[12] When the status of Christ is described in terms of the throne metaphor, Jewish hearers would have understood that the resurrected Jesus, at the right hand of God, "has received the highest possible status in heaven" (Eskola 2001:329, 390; Segal 1992:322; Hurtado 1988:21) because the throne of glory on which the resurrected Christ sits to the right of God (cf. Rev 2:1; 10:12 and 12:2) is located above the *merkabah*. He is thus given the most immediate form of communion with God, which would have been understandable to Jews because it was based upon the texts of the Hebrew Bible (Eskola 2001:149).

[13] Cf. Eph 1:20; 2:6; Col 3:1; I Pet 3:22.

Jewish analogies may have originated in ancient Egyptian religion is considered in the following three verses from Psalm 110, which are referred to in Hebrews.

a) "You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4). Heb 5:6ff and 7:1ff refer to this verse. Pearson (1998:178-9) suggests that when Melchizedek appears in Hebrews "virtually as a divine or semidivine being", the author may actually be perceiving him as a high priest. Psalm 110 reinforces the impression gained from Heb 7:1 that this Psalm deals with the enthronement of a king, but his status is derived from his role as high priest. This combination of the priestly function with that of the king can be traced back to ancient Egypt, where, by virtue of his divinity, the king was the only one qualified to perform the priestly rituals. As mentioned in chapter 2, uniquely in pharaonic Egypt, only the king, by virtue of the institution of divine kingship, was qualified to perform the high priestly rituals. (For practical reasons this divine function was delegated to priests throughout Egypt, but their status as high priests was by virtue of the fact that they acted as representatives of the pharaoh in his divinity).

In Heb 8:2 the "true tabernacle" (τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς) is said to have been set up not by man but by the Lord (ὁ κύριος), and here Jesus is a minister (λειτουργός), but by virtue of his self-sacrifice, Jesus is the ultimate high priest as well, seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven. Eskola (2001:261) points out that the unity of royal enthronement and priestly ministry have their rationale in the conception that the mercy seat, derived originally from the ark of the covenant (God's ark in the Holy of Holies) becomes God's throne. In Heb 1:7 the angels are called λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ and in Heb 1:14 λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα. This reveals the similarity of the mediator function between Jesus and the angels,[14] but at the same time the unique role of high priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (Heb 7:17) in the true tabernacle (ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ

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[14] Rowland (1982:103) points out that in the *Book of Revelation*, although Christ is not directly described as an angel, part of his role "is not too different from that of the angelic intermediaries". This conforms to the shift and blurring of identity between Jesus and major angelological figures perceptible in *Revelation*.

κύριος , οὐκ ἄνθρωπος) is applied to Jesus.[15] Thus in this aspect Jesus *is* an angel in that he is mediator, minister, and does the will of God, but he is also uniquely more.

b) "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool" (Ps 110:1b).[16] This verse with its striking Egyptian connotations[17] is referred to at Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12. In Heb 1:13 the figure addressed as אדני in Psalm 110:1 is stated to be in the place of honour at the right hand of ὁ θεός (יהוה). This seems very much like an enthronement and echoes Dan 10:5-6.

c) "On holy mountains, from the womb of the rosy dawn, have I begotten you like the dew" (Psalm 110:3). Kraus (1989:350) states "The whole verse is a reference to the heavenly, divine origin of the king and should be understood accordingly". In Heb 1:5, to stress the superiority of Jesus in terms of his high priestly function, the Son of God is compared to the angels. Quoting from Psalm 2, the author asks (rhetorically): "For to what angel did God ever say, 'Thou art my Son, today I have begotten thee?'[18] Or again, 'I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son?'" Throughout Hebrews this is explained with ingenious logic using the traditional terminology and biblical imagery familiar to the (assumed) readers of *Hebrews*.[19] The similarity with the Osiris/Horus mythology which expresses the divine father/son relationship in a throne context, is obvious (see 2.2.1). It appears that in order for Jesus to be able to fulfill the high priestly function of sacrifice for sins, he has to have a divine as well as human origin in order to effect the ultimate victory over physical death. This is explainable in terms of ancient Egyptian kingship where the king, who as divine, is the high priest, and the sacrifice must be carried out by the carrier of divinity by virtue of descent from God.

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[15] Cullmann (1956:88) points out that "sitting at the right hand" is inseparably linked with the thought of the priest-king after the order of Melchizedek because in Mark 12:35ff. and 14:62 Jesus expressly related Ps 110 to himself.
[16] See Fig. 7. Hengel (1995:177) presents a similar illustration of Thutmosis IV (1422-1413 BCE).
[17] Psalm 110:1 "till I make your enemies your footstool", is referred to at Heb 1:13 and Heb 10:13 in relation to the throne motif, but here separate from the sun/fire motif.
[18] Also at 5:5b.
[19] Heb 1:4-8, 13-14; 2:5, 8, 16-18; 5:9-10; 7:4-10, 23-25; 9:11-14; 11:3; 13:12.

7.1.3 DISCUSSION

The course of development of the motif of sun/fire is extremely interesting, in two respects. Firstly, the Egyptian pharaonic imagery is already introduced in Heb 1:8 with the allusion to "the righteous scepter" with its connotation of the Egyptian hieroglyph of the *was*-scepter symbolising power and dominion (Wilkinson 1994:181). The association of Melchizedek as King of Justice reflects the Egyptian association of maintenance of *Maat*[20] with the occupant of the throne, and is in harmony with the findings of this dissertation that the activity of judgement almost invariably accompanies any mention of the throne.[21] Secondly, Heb 12:29 makes a surprising statement about the reverence and awe due to God, which harks back to the beginnings of *merkabah* themes in Ezekiel 1 and 10, linking the heavenly throne to fire: "for our God is a consuming fire". In Heb 1:7 the throne motif of Heb 1:3 is still linked to the sun/fire motif, in the context of "Of the angels he says, 'He makes his angels wind' ("spirits" KJV), by referring to Psalm 104(103):4: "you make the winds ($\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ "spirits" KJV) your/his messengers, fire and flame your/his ministers." The parallelism of "angels" and "ministers" thus affirms the spiritual quality of the angels, and equates "ministers/servants" with "angels".[22] Even here, with amazing clarity, the "flames of fire" conjures up the fiery streams emitted from the throne of God in *I Enoch*, Daniel, etc, and by extension, makes sense for instance, of the burning bush which was not consumed in Ex 3:2, and the "divided tongues, as of fire" in Acts 2:3.

Deutsch (1999:14) perceives that "the glue which binds together" the functions of the mythological angelic vice regent[23] as ruler, judge, priest, *demiurgos*, is the *logic of mediation*, because as the divine *anthropos* he has characteristics of God, man and angel.

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[20] This Egyptian word may be approximately translated in this context as justice tempered with mercy.

[21] Manzi (1997:51, n. 98) proposes that מלכי צדק in 11Q Melch is not a personal name, but a divine appellation applied to YHWH himself, and thus uses the translation "King of Justice" wherever it appears, thereby emphasising the idea of justice and judgement (Aschim 1999:135). In this regard see the reference to Nel (2005) in 7.2.1 n. 30.

[22] This is pertinent to the discussion regarding the self-perception of the priests as angels in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* mentioned in 3.2.1.

[23] Deutsch (1999:14) defines the function of the angelic vice-regent as follows: "He is frequently associated with the creation of the world, either as a demiurgic figure, himself, or as close associate of the demiurge. As we will see, his story of transformation is a model for human beings to imitate. The message of his tale, like that of other myths, is the possibility of commerce between human and divine beings".

Inowlocki (2004:328) looks towards Philo's doctrine of the *Logos* as an explanation of how it came about that Jesus was accepted as divine. He states that Eusebius "seems to have had a sense of Alexandrian Christianity's debt to Philo" and he points out that Eusebius was the first church father to present Philo's doctrine of the *Logos* as anticipating the Christian one.[24] Philo interprets Melchizedek as both "priest of the Most High" and as the "divine *Logos*" (*Leg. Alleg.* III.79; *De Congressu* 99). Talbert (1976:428) regarded Philo as an indirect witness to "the myth of a heavenly, divine redeemer figure in Egyptian Judaism, in which wisdom and angel streams of thought had merged and drawn into their orbit other concepts such as Son of God, Word of God, Man in God's image, and High Priest". *In Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q401ShirShab 11) Melchizedek is possibly also seen as the high priest of the cult in the heavenly temple (Newsom 1998:205). The combination of the idea of the high priest as mediator in an angelic role is also expressed in 11Qmelch,[25] which portrays Melchizedek as a heavenly or angelic figure, a heavenly warrior-high priest functioning in the end-time to redeem the elect of God, virtually identical with the archangel Michael (Pearson 1998:182; Aschim 1999:129, 134). This implies that in the context of Genesis 14:18-20, Melchizedek is functioning as Yahweh in an angelic guise. However, in 11QMelch II 13, Melchizedek and God are two different beings, because Melchizedek is to "exact the vengeance of *God's* (El's) judgement" (Aschim 1999:135). This is another instance of the ambiguity in connection with Jewish angelology, and interestingly, in the tractate "Melchizedek" from Nag Hammadi (NHC IX,1), Melchizedek appears to be identified with Jesus (Pearson 1998:199). Eskola (2001:205) points out that through the metaphor of the throne in Heb 1:8, the Son is actually identified as God himself by referring to Ps 45:7-8 (6-7):[26] "But of the Son he says, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the righteous sceptre is the sceptre of thy kingdom'".

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[24] Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica* 7.13; 11.15. However, Nash (1977:106) has pointed out the major difference that Philo's concept of the *Logos* could never have involved incarnation.

[25] A poorly preserved mid - or late first century BCE text.

[26] "Your divine throne endures for ever and ever. Your royal sceptre is a sceptre of equity; you love righteousness and hate wickedness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows."

7.1.4 CONCLUSION

"But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God, then to wait until his enemies should be made a stool for his feet." (Heb 10:12,13)

In the *Letter to the Hebrews* the resurrection of Christ is interpreted as an act of enthronement: the throne is a central metaphor for the new status of Christ, the Son of God, after his self-sacrifice, death and resurrection. Without any direct reference to the combination of two divine figures in intimate contact with the throne of God in Daniel 7, yet hinting at an ancient Egyptian tradition,[27] Christ is depicted as reigning as a heavenly king, and also waiting "until his enemies should be made a footstool for his feet" (Heb 10:12-13). Concommitantly there is a very close connection between concepts of High Priest and Son of God: "Since then we have a great high priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God" (Heb 4:14a). Just as in ancient Egyptian religion, so also in *Hebrews* the combination of kingship with high priesthood necessitates divine Sonship.[28]

In Hebrews the angelological thread B of fire/sun is only perceptible at Heb 1:7 by alluding to the servants of God as "flames of fire", and at Heb 12:9 "for our God is a consuming fire". The other main angelological thread, the Divine Council, is only perceptible in Christ's kingship together with God, where he sits as the ultimate High Priest and intermediary, at the right hand of God, and this is the case in Revelation as well. In the following section, the angelological issues of the separate divine figures encountered in Daniel 7 and 10, are seen to be transformed into the unified figure of the High Priest and Son of God of Hebrews, as the Lamb sharing God's throne in the apocalyptic ending of Revelation.

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[27] At Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12, Psalm 110:1b is referred to: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool" (see fig. 7). Cf. also 1 Cor 15:27: "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet", which refers to Ps 8:6b "thou hast put all things under his feet".
[28] The enthroned Christ is called Son on the basis of Old Testament passages such as 2 Sam 7:14 and Ps 89 (88):27).

7.2 THE BOOK OF REVELATION

As far as is known the Book of Revelation was written originally in Greek, but a Jewish orientation is perceptible in the angelology. From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the images used in Hebrews were taken from the early *merkabah* tradition related to Jewish apocalyptic. This is also evident in the angelological motifs used in *Revelation* to describe the divinity of the risen Christ.

7.2.1 THE FIRE/SUN MOTIF

In Rev 1:14 "one like a son of man" is described as having eyes "like a flame of fire". Here the fire motif appears as an obvious allusion to Dan 10:6 because of the mutuality in both texts not only of this element associated with the eyes of the two figures, but of other motifs already discussed in chapter 4 part 3. Rev 1:16 states that his face was "like the sun shining in full strength". In Rev 10:1 the description "his face was like the sun" is repeated[29] indicating that the intention is to link both figures. Thus the "mighty angel" being referred to in Rev 10:1 may well be intended to represent Jesus, as the figure in Rev 1:16 undoubtedly is.[30] The legs of the "mighty angel" in Rev 10:1 are described as pillars of fire. The legs of the man clothed in linen in Dan 10:6 are described as the "gleam of burnished (קלל) bronze", and the angelological descriptions and the implications of the peculiarity of the translation in the OG of קלל as ἐξαστράπτων, lightning, is discussed in 3.1.2.1 and 4.3.3. Here in Rev 10:1 the similarity of these allusions points to angelic motifs, and the uncertainty of whether the description in Dan 10:6 is a theophany or angelophany is conveyed in this passage in Rev 10:1 as well. These allusions also serve to bring the angelic figure into association with the sun as a cosmic element, thus once again implying the ancient associations of the creative aspects of the sun as divinity.[31]

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[29] Possibly in a chiasmic structure over several chapters.

[30] See Beale (1999:522-3) for the scholarly debate on this possibility.

[31] Nel (2005:79) points out that the use of the sun as a metaphor in the Old Testament can only be understood once the empirical domain from which the abstract conceptualization from which it has been mapped has been explored. In the same vein, the sun motif in Revelation can only be understood when its Hebrew Bible precedents are examined. Nel (2005:95) describes the association in Egypt with Amun-Re "who is attributed as 'shepherd' who never tired to bring the sufferer (flock) to nourishment". The sun god

From Revelation 19 onwards the sun/fire motif undergoes a remarkable development in the final phase of the second layer of angelology which is discussed in 7.2.4. In Revelation 14, 16 and 17 fire appears as a punitive element, not directly relevant as an angelic motif in the context of this dissertation.

7.2.2 THE THRONE MOTIF

The description of the throne in chapter 4 is clearly based on Ezekiel 1 and 10, but combined with other traditions, for example in Rev 4:5 the seven lamps of fire are the seven Spirits of God. In 4:6 a sea of glass like crystal is described in association with the throne. In chapter 15 this sea of glass is mentioned again in the vision of a "sea of glass mixed with fire". Those who had overcome the beast are standing on the sea of glass. Within the stylistic framework of the fiery association with angelic activity the fiery appearance of the sea of glass would be explainable as those who have overcome, becoming transformed into angels. A figure seated on the throne of God in heaven is described in Rev 4:5-6 in non-anthropological terms. Motifs similar to those in the descriptions in the texts described in earlier chapters are described, for instance on each side of the throne are the four living creatures first described in Ezekiel 1, but now each have six wings[32] instead of four. Coming from the throne are flashes of lightning, and rumblings and peals of thunder. However, surrounding the throne are twenty-four elders,[33] also seated on thrones with white garments and golden crowns (Rev 4:4). Their angelic state is indicated by their attributes e.g. their white garments, their "*kithara*", and bowls of incense which are the prayers of the saints (Rev 5:8) (Gruenwald 1980:65). The offering of the prayers of mankind to God is also an angelic function (cf. Raphael in a Divine Council setting in *Tobit*).

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is praised as the "great shepherd" and "brightest source of life for all" (Chester Beatty iv, lines 269, 293, 297-8). Nel concludes (2005:97) that the shepherd metaphor for the king in Egypt also signifies the exertion of justice, and points out that the "royal ideology of the ancient Near East accepts an intricate relation between the godhead and the king as his earthly representative, and in the Egyptian instance bodily incarnation of the divine." Thus the extension of the shepherd metaphor relating to the royal ideology gives rise to the king/god as shepherd, denoting a divine mission to promote and establish righteousness (Nel 2005:98). He sees a "spiritual deepening" of the pastoral metaphor (referring to John 10:11) utilised for Christ in Heb 13:20 and Rev 7:17 where Christ becomes the " Lamb-shepherd."

[32] Probably indicating an allusion to Isa 6:2.

[33] Also mentioned at Rev 4:10; 5:14; 7:9, 11; 11:16.

At 20:4a multiple thrones are again seen by John, upon which sit those to whom judgement has been committed, thus combining the throne motif with judgement, as has been found throughout these texts. This implies some sort of divine status for those seated on the throne in terms of participation in judgement. At Rev 20:4b the souls of the righteous witnesses come to life, and reign with Christ for a thousand years. They are described as priests of God and of Christ. By implication they are presumably enthroned because they reign.[34] A Y Collins (2003:59) notes that in this way here at Rev 20:4, "vertical" and "horizontal" eschatology are reconciled – the faithful dead are raised to reign on earth, whereas the similar passage in Dan 7:9-10 is set in heaven.

Beale (1999:172) understands the divine throne in Revelation "as ultimately behind the trials of believers and woes of unbelievers". He recognises that the major Old Testament passages which are "formative for the seals, trumpets, and bowls, without exception, have God as the ultimate cause of the ordeals (so Zech 6:1-8; Ez 14:21; Lev 26:18-28 and their use in Rev 6:2-8)". Rowland (1993:76) points out that even the picture of the new Jerusalem, where nothing profane will enter, is ambiguous because "right at the very centre of Revelation stands a corpse", i.e. uncleanness in the form of the dead Lamb. The implications for theodicy are discussed in chapter 8.

At 20:11 a great white throne is seen by John, but there is no clear indication in the text whether this is a positive or negative motif. In consideration of apperceptive mass, when the phrase in Rev 12:5, "but her child was caught up to God and to his throne", is juxtaposed against a similar allusion in the *Apocryphon of John*, an interesting counterpoint emerges. Revelation and the *Apocryphon of John* were possibly written in the same decade, ca. 90 CE,[35] and it seems possible that the author of the *Apocryphon of John* was aware of and reacting to, the Book of Revelation.[36]

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[34] The tricky part of this description is that this is for the limited, interim period until the "first resurrection". Here the Divine Council imagery is employed to imply a state of deification for the righteous witnesses to Jesus. Cf. Matt 19:28. At 22:5 their reign becomes permanent.

[35] Some authors suggest an earlier date, 65 CE. See Beale (1999:27) for support for 95 CE.

[36] The notion of "thrones" as personified beings is only expressed biblically in one passage, Col 1:16. Here the term "thrones" denotes heavenly beings (de Jonge 1992:864-865). " … for by him (Jesus Christ) all things in heaven and earth were created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers and powers …"

Revelation 22:3, 5b "… but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it", is the culmination of the apocalyptic vision. It's astonishing effect is built upon the development of angelological themes throughout from chapter 1 to the end of the book. All these graduated visions culminate in Rev 22:3 where the throne is shared by the Lamb. I propose that this dramatic switch from the Jewish apocalyptic description of the throne of God in heaven, to the monotheistic worship of Jesus as the Lamb on the throne of God, is achieved through carefully structured subtle and ambiguous shifts in angelic identity, described below.

7.2.3 THE SHIFT IN ANGELIC IDENTITY

Attridge (1989:41) perceives a tension in the angelology of the apocalypticism prevalent during the post-exilic period between what was acceptable to monotheists and what was new. Below, analysis of lexicalization of angelic figures in the *Book of Revelation* demonstrates that the characteristic of angelic ambiguity provides a mechanism for subtly shifting a categorically monotheistic orientation to an acceptable description of Jesus on the throne of God in heaven.

In the Hebrew Bible one finds several examples of a mysterious switch from angels who are sometimes confused with men, to God, so that one is not always sure whether a human messenger, or an angel, or God, is meant, for example Gen 16:7-13; Gen 18; Gen 22, Gen 31:11-13, Gen 32; Ex 3:2-6; Num 22; Jdg 2:1; (MT) 6:11-22; 13:3-21; Ez 8:2. Another example is Mal 3:1 where מלאכי can be interpreted either as "angel" or "messenger", and this can perhaps be applied to the superscription in Mal 1:1 as well (Joynes 1998:274). In her examination of what form Elijah was expected to return, Joynes (1998:124) points out that the ambiguity of the messenger of Mal 3:1 possibly implies the conception of "an angelic being assuming human form", i.e. Malachi is the angel of God.[37] The angelic ambiguity is also evident in the Book of Revelation. A close reading suggests that there was

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[37] Joynes (1998:119) suggests that Mal 3:23-4 provides an identification of the anonymous angel in Mal 3:1 where Elijah is like an angel because of his ascension; secondly he was associated with fire (2 Kings 1:10, 12; 2:1; Sir 48.1); thirdly, his activity in Malachi 3 ends in a theophany. She finds confirmation for the idea of angelic incarnation in the "striking implication" of the *Prayer of Joseph* (possibly a first century CE text) that a heavenly figure, Israel, becomes incarnate in his earthly counterpart, Jacob the Patriarch.

a conflicting mixture of beliefs about messengers/angels in the cultural environment of the first hundred years of Christianity, in that the book appears to contain three distinct layers of discourse about angels. If one retains the original Jewish meaning of the word ἄγγελος as "messenger",[38] then a progression becomes visible in John's use of the concept as one proceeds through the book. For instance the first layer appears to be a straightforward communication on the surface to John to communicate to seven angels or messengers who could simply be the humans responsible for receiving and passing on messages to each congregation, yet could be angels. This surface level is continued in another sequence of seven angels who herald calamities on earth. In the second, deeper layer, a complex, interwoven pattern of lexicalization of angels creates ambiguity and seems to be conveying more deeply embedded meaning. The angelic figures are lexicalised in sets of one plus three, in which the first angel seems to be set apart as more important. The first angel in the set of one plus three is always described with motifs which have been previously associated with Jesus and the distinction between the first angel in the set and Jesus becomes progressively hazy. This pattern has the effect that as the sequence proceeds, without becoming actively lexicalised, Jesus is almost surreptitiously present in the situation.

The third layer is superimposed towards the end of the text, and intensifies the ambiguity whilst at the same time distilling the essence of the culminating emergence of the worship of Jesus on the throne of God. At Rev 3:11 Jesus states unambiguously (i.e. it is clear that it is Jesus speaking), that he is coming soon, thus strengthening the sense of the immanence of the apocalyptic ending. However, the observation of increasing ambiguity is confirmed because the repetition three times at Rev 22:7, 12, 20, although stated in the first person singular, does not appear on the surface to be pronounced by Jesus.

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[38] מלאך was translated in the LXX as ἄγγελος. The words ἄγγελος and מלאך only acquired the exclusive meaning of "angel" when Jerome completed his translation of the Hebrew scriptures, the Vulgate, in 404 CE, when for the first time a systematic distinction was made between a divine emissary (*angelus*) and a human one (*nuntius*) (Watson 1992:248).

7.2.3.1 THE FIRST LAYER OF ANGELOLOGY

In the first layer of angelology in Rev 2:1, 8, 12, 18 and 3:1, 7, 14, John is instructed to write, not directly to the congregations in their respective cities, but to the *angel* of each congregation in each city. If one were to retain the original Jewish meaning of "messenger" for the word ἄγγελος, it could simply mean the human person whose function it is to convey messages to the congregation. However, a whole string of messaging is set up: the voice from the vision of one like a son of man (Rev 1:13) addresses John, who in turn functions as a go-between or human messenger to the messenger of the congregation, either human or divine. If the ἄγγελοι of the congregations are divine,[39] this would be in line with the traditional Jewish belief that a guardian angel exists for each city and also intercedes for the nation Israel (Danielou 1964:125). It is interesting that if the angels of the congregations are divine beings rather than human messengers, John would be higher in rank in relation to the passing on of the message, than the angels of the churches. The ambiguity of the word ἄγγελος in this context with its hierarchical implications regarding humans compared to angelic status, echoes concerns encountered in *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *Apocryphon of John,* Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26-27, and the *Letter to the Hebrews*. Issues regarding the implications of human potential for deification are thus perhaps deliberately set right at the beginning of the book.[40] The implications of the human potential for deification are discussed in chapter 8.

7.2.3.2 THE SECOND LAYER

The second, deeper layer described below is a progression of three sequences and a final phase. It starts with a vision of a divine messenger, and ends with the distinct possibility that John is in the presence of Jesus even though Jesus has not been actively lexicalised. This progression is given step by step because it forms a repetitive rhythmic sequence which strengthens the subliminal impression of a surreptitious but deliberately structured indication of a shift in identity between Jesus and the major angelic figure. In addition an increase in intensity of imagery takes place as the book unfolds. Interspersed in this series of three sequences are descriptions of another series of four angels in 7:1-17, and

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[39] In the sense that they are heavenly creatures.

another angel from the east is followed in chapters 8 to 9 by seven angels with trumpets, but this description is not ambiguous and seems to belong to the first, surface layer. The seventh angel is designated as "another mighty angel" and heralds the momentous birth of the man child who is "caught up to God and to his throne." However, just as John's tenses are "constantly interfused" (Caird 1966:300), so an almost imperceptible shift takes place in the following structured sequence:

Sequence A.

1) In Rev 1:13 and 14:14 ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου is generally taken as a description of the risen Christ. Assuming that the figure in 1:13 is Jesus, it follows that it is Jesus who commands John to write to the angels of the seven churches in the seven cities in chapters 2 and 3.

2) A mighty angel ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν in 5:2 is clearly not Jesus as this angel functions as a pointer to the Lamb who alone is worthy to open the book.

3) Another angel ἄλλον ἄγγελον in 7:2 from the East bearing a seal of the living God is not referred to again and clearly functions purely as a messenger.

4) Another angel in 8:3-5 appears to be different to the one in 7:2 and his function is a traditional role in Jewish angelology of offering the prayers of all the saints.

These first four appearances form a sequence of first Jesus, followed by three minor angels, which is repeated twice more, as follows:

Sequence B.

A confusing shift starts in Revelation 10. "*A*" voice in verse 8 becomes "they" in verse 11. "Another mighty angel" (ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρὸν) in 10:1-2 who stands on sea and land could be Jesus himself partly because of the description of his appearance with a cloud and a rainbow, associating him with the heavenly throne (cf. Rev 4:3: "and a face beaming like

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[40] Cf. Rev 3:21 "He who conquers ("overcometh" KJV), I will grant him to sit with me on my throne, as I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne.

the sun" in 1:16 who is the same figure as "the one like the son of man" in 1:13).[41] A Jewish Christian tradition in apocalyptic imagery entails an angel of colossal stature. This enormous size serves to establish the transcendence of the "glorious angel, to show that he surpasses the angels infinitely" (Danielou 1964:121).[42] The identification of the angel in 10:1 as Jesus is contra Kerkeslager (1993:116), who argues that the ambiguity is intentional and represents false messiahs and false prophecy. Gundry however (2005:394-396), contra Carrell (1997:131-138), argues the case for the angel in Revelation 10 as representing Jesus on the basis of well established features of a theophany, for instance the angel being "clothed with the cloud" (cf. the angel of Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible, and see n. 46 below). Kovacs and Rowland (2004:78-79) go further and in addition to identifying the rider on the white horse in Rev 19:11 as representing Jesus, extend this christological view to the rider on the white horse in 6:2. They state Victorinus' interpetation (1916:68.10-11) that "while the white horse is a positive symbol and the others are all negative, the four horses together represent one entity, the two sides of the character of God, mercy and judgement".

Hurtado (1988:25) distinguishes between the angelic hosts in post-exilic texts who function as God's servants, as vehicles of his power and will, who magnify God and his power, and those angels who function as substitutes for God on earth. Capes (1992:185) points out that the angel of Yahweh should be understood as a manifestation of God, because already in the Hebrew Bible Yahweh is presented as a corporate person. He suggests that just as the Israelites conceived of their one God as having plural manifestations, it was possible for early Christians to consider Messiah Jesus to be a manifestation of Yahweh. If the mighty angel in 10:1-2 is indeed intended to represent Jesus, this confirms the structural sequence of first Jesus, followed by three minor angels, because the next three angels to follow in 14:6-12 are each described as ἄλλον ἄγγελον, i.e. each one is different, but not "mighty".[43]

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[41] Another possible indication is that in 11:1 the "divine passive" is used, and it then appears to be Jesus who speaks because the phrase in 11:3 καὶ δώσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν must be attributable to Jesus, even though he has not been re-lexicalised.

[42] Cf. the vision of Poimandres in *Corpus Hermeticum* I.

[43] It is an interesting structural feature that the woman in 12:2 clothed with the sun and about to give birth, opposed by the red dragon and the beast, and the Lamb in 14:1, together with the Lamb's Father's name on

Sequence C.

A third sequence of either Jesus or a major angelic figure which could be a representation of Jesus, followed by three minor ones, is now repeated starting at Rev 14:14 where Jesus is referred to again in the phrase ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἄνθρώπου (with a sickle), followed again three times by ἄλλος ἄγγελος. Rev 14:14 can only be referring to Jesus as the sickle-bearing angel because it echoes 1:13 in the use of the Son of Man title in the angelomorphic context of the figure on the throne. Bauckham's description (1993:133) of this literary device of using a repetitive structural pattern to create an awareness in the reader of the author's intention, affirms the reason for this structural rhythm. If this conclusion is accepted then at least in this context the problem with the throne vision of two divine figures in Dan 7:13-14 is resolved (cf. Otzen and Collins on Michael in 4.3.3 and 4.3.4). The parallelism[44] present between Dan 7:13a and Rev 14:14 triggers an association of ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἄνθρώπου with Michael in 12:7, further strengthening the possibility that Michael could be a representation of Jesus in this context.[45]

The final phase – Sequence D.

There now follows a sequence of three occasions where angels are mentioned from Chapter 18 onwards, which strengthens the possibility that the distinction between the first in the series of angel figures and Jesus is becoming increasingly tenuous. The first allusion 18:1 "...another angel coming down from heaven, having great authority; and the earth was made bright with his splendor" is followed by a second in 19:17 "... an angel standing in the sun", which is preceded by a vision of god seated on the throne in 19:4,

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the foreheads of the one hundred and forty-four thousand, is interjected here before the three other angels are described. If the assumption that the mighty angel who stands on sea and land is indeed intended to represent Jesus, then the juxtaposition here of the Lamb prepares the reader for the reappearance at the apocalyptic ending of Jesus as the Lamb on the throne.

[44] "And lo, a white cloud, and seated on the cloud one like a son of man," (Rev 14:14) and "and behold, with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man," (Dan 7:13a).

[45] In 12:7 Michael suddenly appears with his angels to wage war with Satan and his angels and cast him down to earth. Although in Jewish apocalyptic the opposition between the higher demons and the good angels is clearly stated, Jewish Christianity tends to substitute a figure between Christ and the bad angel in the confrontation between good and evil (Danielou 1964:190). This would explain Michael's sudden appearance. Michael casts Satan down to earth (Rev.12:8-9), but Jesus's action in dispossessing Satan of his power by his work of salvation is eschatological (Danielou 1964:190). In the *Testament of Dan* VI, 2, Michael is described as the angel who is a mediator between God and men (cf 1 Tim 2:5), as in the *Testament of Levi* V. 6, which Danielou quotes as another example of the transposition from the Jewish theme of Michael to the Christian theme of the Word (Danielou 1964:125).

and an announcement of the marriage supper of the Lamb. This is then immediately followed in 19:11-16 by a vision of a white horse. Here the rider appears to represent Jesus[46] because of the description and allusions to his self-description in the early chapters of the book, e.g. eyes "like a flame of fire"; "from his mouth issues a sharp sword"; "the wrath of God"; "King of kings and Lord of Lords". The fourth allusion in 20:1 "... an angel coming down from heaven, holding in his hand the key to the bottomless pit ...", again harks back to Jesus's self-description in 1:18 - "I have the keys of death and of Hades". These cumulative descriptions of Jesus which recapitulate symbols associated with him in earlier descriptions seem to emphasise the idea of Jesus being identifiable with the major angelic figures, i.e. the first in the "one plus three" sequences, and subtly shift the actions of the angels to Jesus himself.[47]

7.2.3.3 THE THIRD LAYER

The fluidity between Jesus and certain angelic figures is taken further in 19:10, where it seems that John recognises the voice that addresses him as that of Jesus but is again forbidden to worship him. This seems to reinforce the surface level that it is an angel speaking for Jesus, and thus he is only conveying a message from Jesus even in Rev 3:11 when he says "Behold, I am coming soon" in 3:11.[48]   However, in the context of Rev 22:7, 12 and 20 the phrase reads as if it is a direct statement in the first person. It seems obvious that the latter three verses are a direct statement from Jesus, doubly interesting in that it is a repetition three times of the initial statement in 3:11, i.e. a repetition of the one plus three pattern. Yet in each instance it is pronounced by "one of the seven angels" mentioned in 21:9. The refusal of worship is repeated by the angel in 22:9, yet it also seems that this angel is Jesus, even though he does not regard himself as equal to God, and therefore not to be worshipped. Verse 22:16 ("It is I, Jesus, who sent my angel to you with this testimony for my churches") seems on the one hand to remove the confusion, but on the other to add to the

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[46] Beale (1999:949-950), but see Beale (1999:374 to 379) for discussion of scholarly debate on whether the rider on the white horse in 6:2 represents Jesus or a parody representing false prophecy and false messiahs. Beale's argument rests on the idea also expressed by John of the Cross (1995:151-152) that "the evil spirit apes god".

[47] Gundry (2005:387-389) also understands that Jesus is represented by the angel standing in the sun. He backs up his claim with a list of references where Jesus is associated with the sun, namely Rev 1:16; 10:1 (the only allusion accepted by Hannah 1999:153); 19:17; 21:23; and 22:5.

confusion, because in its ambiguity it does not actually tally with the foregoing textual examples, where Jesus appears to be speaking directly to John.

7.3 DISCUSSION

Ultimately the Book of Revelation seems to be dealing with, among many other aspects, the mysterious combination in the person of Jesus; fully human, yet fully divine. By using angel traditions such as at Rev 1:6b-7a, 14; and Rev 2:16[49] the author alludes to the traditional motifs of Jewish apocalyptic and *merkabah* traditions, but the refusal of worship occurs at those places where the presence of God himself is in question because of the subtle shifts in referent, and in the *Book of Revelation* the worship of Jesus takes place finally only in the throne-room of heaven (Fletcher-Louis 1997:7). The phrase in 22:16 "It is I, Jesus, who sent my angel to you …" may be deliberately disguising the ploy of ambiguity, in that it harks back to Rev 1:1 which states, "The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him … and he made it known by sending his angel …". This phase belongs to the first, surface layer which blandly denies, but actually sets the stage for the ambiguity. In Rev 22:6b and 7a, the angel says "And the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, has sent his angel to show his servants what must soon take place. And behold, I am coming soon." This again implies that Jesus is the angel who is lexicalised at Rev 21:9, but it could also imply that Jesus is "the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets". The question arises here, of who the "he" is who made it known, God or Jesus? The implication is that Jesus and God are one. Secondly, who is the angel whom "he" sent, Jesus or which angel? Here again, the implication is that Jesus and the angel are one and the same figure.

In Rev 19:17 an angel is seen standing in the sun, after which the final battle between the beast with his minions and the "Faithful and True" rider on the white horse with his armies in heaven, clothed in fine, clean, white linen. The beast is defeated and he and the false prophet are cast into a lake of fire. The devil is bound for a thousand years. The association

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[48] Cf. the "messenger formula" used by the OT prophets, which is usually preceded by "Thus saith the Lord".

[49] Respectively: "God and Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. Behold, he is coming with the clouds"; "his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire"; "Repent then. If not, I will come to you soon and war against them with the sword of my mouth."

of Jesus Christ with the appearance of the sun motif in *Revelation* (convincingly argued by Gundry (2005:388, 389)), recapitulates the angelological development of this motif traced from its origins (see chapter 2 and Nel 2005:93-98), through Platonism to Christianity. In Rev 6:12 the sun became black, then in Rev 10:1 an enormous angel appears whose face was "as it were the sun". In Rev 12:1 the woman who gives birth is clothed with the sun, and then in Rev 19:17 an angel is standing in the sun. The role of this angel appears to be that of an avenging angel, and in this regard works closely with the rider on the white horse (Rev 19:11-16), who appears to be Jesus in view of an earlier description of Jesus in Rev 1:16.[50] The angel in Rev 19:17 who stands in the sun may be a portent of substitution of the sun. If this is so, then it is not surprising that by Rev 21 there is no longer any need for the sun "for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb". Finally, in Rev 22:5, the symbolism of the sun is clearly stated: "The Lord God giveth them light". This subtle shift of imagery from sun to angel to Lamb to the Lord God, explains the persistence of the sun motif throughout the course of Jewish angelology (including solar worship during the period of the monarchy), and demonstrates a creative development in the service of christology. The phrase "for the Lamb is the light thereof" confirms the identification of the Lamb with the angel in the sun, thus also the identification of Jesus with the angel, by virtue of Jesus being the Lamb. This identification then reveals the significance of the Lamb throughout *Revelation*, as the common denominator between the angelic substitutes for Jesus and Jesus himself.

Hannah's research (1999:215) confirms that Revelation, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and possibly the Gospel of Luke all attribute to Christ roles or functions which traditionally belonged to principal angels (especially seen in the Michael traditions). In this regard Hannah (1999:217) sees the influence of Philo's *Logos* doctrine, where the *Logos* is the agent of creation, but also the image of God and his firstborn son. Carrell (1997:110, 111)

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[50] Rowland (1993:76) recognises that although the Book of Revelation is preoccupied with holiness, even that picture is ambiguous, because it seems to portray death and destruction "in some sense as arising from God". In this text there is no doubt about the certainty of the wrath of God (Rev 15:1) and of the Lamb (Rev 6:16). God's righteousness inevitably implies judgement because human society does not repent of alienating itself from God. Rowland (1993:85) puts it baldly: "Revelation (and the rest of the biblical witness for that matter) compels us to recognise God's ultimate responsibility for that which appears to us evil and destructive".

points out that the concept of the *Logos* enabled transformation in the sense that the self-revelation of God could be manifested in the form of an angel. This is not to say that Jesus was understood to be an angel, although he was sometimes conceived to be like an angel in function, and occasionally recognised as having temporarily taken up the form of an angel, i.e. appeared as "angelomorphic". Gundry (2005:394) suggests that "the angelomorphic Christology in Revelation may well have contributed to the Christology in the Fourth Gospel", where Jesus is the one sent from heaven and returning there. The "fruitful" angelic ambiguity (Ashton 1994:79) in Revelation may be taken further in the light of the research presented in this dissertation by examining Rev 22:16 "I Jesus have sent my angel to you … I am the root and the offspring of David, the bright and morning star." Who exactly is Jesus's angel? Is this descriptive of a kind of hypostasis of Jesus? Or of the royal *Anthropos*, descendent of King David? According to the genitive the "bright morning star" must be Jesus.

The phenomenon of the ambiguity between angelic figures and Jesus is also perceptible in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* at the following places: Heb 1:2, 3: "Christ was made heir of that which he, as God's agent created"; Heb 1:8; 2:10, 14. At Heb 7:3, 15, 17, 21 there is ambiguity about Jesus and/or Melchizedek in relation to God (Attridge 1989:41, 191, 211). In Rev 1:18, "in the context of a strongly angelomorphic christological portrait, 1:13-20, Christ's death may be intended to mark out his humanity over against the angels" (Fletcher-Louis 1997:7 n. 29). In the first two chapters of Hebrews the same effect is achieved, qualifying Jesus as both fully human and fully divine. Bauckham (1993:120) noted the presence of both Jewish apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism in Revelation, and this combination of themes is also present in Hebrews. The fact that both Revelation and Hebrews have pronounced apocalyptic features[51] may suggest that the mysterious switch from a major angelic figure to Jesus in both texts is part of the development of Christian apocalypticism. In both Hebrews and Revelation, apocalyptic proves to be "the literature of the oppressed" (VanderKam 1998:318). Barr (1984:40, 41) comments on the symbolic transformation of the "near-total" dualism in Revelation, in that by way of the arrival of the victor on the white horse with the sword issuing from his mouth, the faithful

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[51] See 7.1.2 n.7 for the apocalyptic features in Hebrews.

witness brings both salvation and judgement. Because Jesus appears before this with his robes dipped in blood, the symbols of violence are transformed into symbols of faithful suffering, i.e. "the suffering of Jesus was really the overthrow of evil", and "the victims have become the victors" (Barr 1984:50). Gruenwald (1980:14) points out that apocalypticism invariably suggested a new understanding for the problems of evil and human suffering. "Seen in a broader, eschatological context both evil and suffering received different proportions. Their meaning and function was not to be decided anymore in relation to temporary pain and grief, but within the framework of history as a totality regulated by God from creation to salvation". In this regard, Sacchi's comment (see 4.1.5) that the centre of apocalyptic thought should be sought in the conception of sin is interesting, especially when seen in relation to the "hard of heart" in *I Enoch Book of Watchers*.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The vision of the risen Christ in Revelation, with all its allusions to the motifs which have angelological significance discussed in earlier chapters, i.e. throne, lightning, 'Son of Man', 'golden girdle', 'hair white like wool', 'eyes like a flame of fire', 'feet like fine brass', 'voice like the sound of many waters', 'sword', 'sun', demonstrates that the angelological motifs subsequently used for christological exposition were in existence long before the actual incarnation of Christ. The role played by these motifs in the description of God's form on the "throne of glory" in Ezekiel 1, *I Enoch* 14 and Dan 7:9 culminates in the theophany in Rev 1:13ff. Rowland (1980:10) suggests that these connections to Rev 1:13 were ultimately enabled by the separation of the human-like figure from the *Merkabah* in Ezek. 8:2.

The ancient Egyptian sun-king *Re* is the earliest known occurrence of the sun/fire motif, and provides the connection to the Jewish concept of the king as high priest in his role as mediator between heaven and earth. In consideration of the *merkabah* elements in Hebrews and Revelation, I thus propose that a deep underlying concept of the king on his throne as divine mediator and high priest, which may have originated in the ancient Egyptian concept of divine kingship, provided the thought pattern (in the Platonic sense of truth at the level of

the intelligible realm of idea), for the supreme sacrificial act of the Son of God.[52] However, the elimination of the sun/fire motif in the eschatological climax of Revelation seems to indicate a transcendence of this motif from the sun god Re to God as the Lamb on the throne, who provides the light.

Hurtado describes what he calls a "Christological" *merkabah* tradition which occurs both in the Book of Revelation (eg Rev. 1:13ff) and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the resurrected Christ sits on the right hand of God on the throne, exalted to a position of heavenly rule above all angelic orders, and has titles appropriated to him which were originally applied to God as "a kind of binitarian reverence which included both God and the exalted Jesus" (1988:11). This connection to the apocalyptic ending of the Book of Revelation[53] may be clearly seen in the goal of heavenly ascent stated in the *merkabah* scene in Heb 12:22-23:

> "But you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to a judge who is God of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect."

In terms of Corsini's definition of apperceptive mass described in 1.1[54] the novelty of the above statement would not have been possible without the syncretistic contribution of each of the three cultural contexts of this dissertation, Jewish, Egyptian and Greek.

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[52] This is in line with the meaning of Philo's allegorical exegesis of the sacrifice of Isaac as the primary desire for reunification with God.

[53] "There shall no more be anything accursed, but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall worship him … they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev 22:3-5).

[54] The accumulation of ideas already possessed, derived from such sources as earlier texts or oral traditions, and these inevitably include interaction with other cultures, thus: "a group of present ideas, influenctial in determining what new ideas shall gain admission to consciousness and in what way new objects shall be perceived" (Corsini 2002:61). (In my use of this concept, "new objects" can also include new perceptions).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The inherent ambiguity of the words *elohim*, *elim* and of the phrases "son of God" and "holy ones" is already apparent in the discussion on Psalm 82, where the context is the very ancient "polytheistic" idea of the Divine Council. The polytheistic undertones of this psalm go some way to explain the later resistance of the rabbis to the understanding of the term "sons of God" as fused with the concept of angels. Their struggle to establish and maintain Jewish identity as monotheistic, complicates the search for the origins and development of Jewish angelology. Morray-Jones (1992:14) suggests that "there are good grounds for believing that some first- and second-century rabbis attempted to suppress an early tradition of the ascent into heaven or men who in some way became associated with the Angel of the Lord, or the Form of God as enthroned Logos-Power-Glory, but that this tradition was kept alive in esoteric circles." Halperin (1982:363) also observed that the Greek translators of Ezekiel show a concern with extracting or concealing the implications of the text, as does the Targum very often. This is in spite of the fact that there was "a strong inherited angelology among the rabbis" (Alexander 1972:69).[1]

The motifs of sun/fire and throne are recognisable in the combination of mythological solar associations with the concept of the Divine Council (implying enthronement for sovereignty). Ancient Egyptian myth and ritual associated with solar worship provides a pattern of mediation between heaven and earth in two crucial religious concepts which underly Jewish beliefs about the functioning of angels: 1) the concept of a supreme God as the king of the Gods, and 2) the unique mythological concept of the divinity of

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[1] Kasher (1996:184) notes that although a belief in the existence of angels is basic to the Aramaic Targums to the Bible, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan avoids mentioning angels whenever possible, but introduces the "Angel of the Lord" where the Bible itself refers directly to God, in order to avoid Anthropomorphism. He considers that Targum Pseudo-Jonathan may reflect the "official" translation of rabbinical views of the period following the end of the 2nd century CE. Cook (1983:50) demonstrated that in the antiheretical tradition in T. Pseudo-Jonathan one of the reasons for rabbinic discussion of the issue of when the angels were created, is to counter the Gnostic ideas that they participated in the creation of the world. Levine (1988:65) confirms the marked "anti-angel" movement in Pharasaic theology, whereby they strove "to

kingship, related to the supremacy of the sun god. By way of the myth of Osiris and Horus, the ancient Egyptian religious institution of divine kingship enacted the ritual of an eternal succession of rulership from "father to son", in that way overcoming the problem of discontinuity in the event of the death of the earthly king. Overwhelming evidence is now extant associating sun and fire with God/El/Elohim during Iron age IIB (925-720/700 BCE) as creator, protector, and with his might and power. Keel and Uehlinger (1998:277, 279) have produced iconographical evidence that by the eighth century Yahweh was conceived of as the actual sun god.

Ugaritic mythology contributed to the synthesis of these Egyptian religious concepts to the Israelite God Yahweh. Traces concerning the aged god El and the young god Baal which are witnessed to in the Ugaritic mythology, help to explain concepts of divine kingship in Psalms 82 and 110; Dan 7:9-14 ; Heb 1; 5:5; 8:1-2, and Rev 1:5; Rev 4, and Rev 12:5; 19:15-16. The angelological implications in terms of the lesser gods of the Divine Council reveberate in the Book of Daniel where angelological motifs serve as pointers to exegesis. There are plural thrones in the MT 7:9 but not in OG. Plural thrones also appear in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and in Rev 4:4 and 20:4. This seems to be one way in which a hint of the hellenistic concept of deification surfaces in Jewish angelology, and becomes transferred to Christianity, for instance Eph 2:6: "and [God] raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus". In Ezekiel 1 and 10 the concept of a creator God with solar/fire/light associations who is King of the Divine Council becomes blended with the concept of God from whose throne messengers/angels are sent out and return. This, the *merkabah* throne in heaven, is portrayed as the place where angelic activity originates, or at least as the source of angelic activity, and attainment to it becomes the goal of heavenly ascent. The reports of heavenly ascent by living men complicates the issue. Such claims by men who were thought to become like gods in form and to be enthroned in the heavens are already attacked in the Old Testament (Is 14:13ff. and Ezekiel 28), and yet certain righteous biblical figures like Enoch, Moses and Elijah are considered possible candidates for such

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eliminate the concept of a heavenly pantheon ... a sort of celestial council. And this concept patently confronts the doctrine of absolute monotheism".

a manner of departure from earth. Not surprisingly, ambiguity in the matter of angelic activity is inherent in all the texts studied in this dissertation. As a phenomenon, it appears to have been fruitful in the process of preparation for, and the early development of Christianity, and served a useful purpose in the tricky area of heavenly ascent and deification (to whatever degree). The way in which the angelological motifs have been employed in the various depictions of heavenly ascent is discussed below.

8.1 THE SYNCHRONIC CLUSTERING OF MOTIFS

The following motifs present in Ezekiel 1 and 10 have been identified as characteristic of, and significant for, Jewish angelology as a whole, and traced in all the texts studied: throne, sun/fire, "streams of fire from the wheels", *ophanim*, *galgal*, *cherubim*, *hashmal*, "do not turn". The synchronic clustering of these motifs which appear in the texts written before the time of Philo, is tabulated in Chart C 2 below. The pattern of distribution in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and the two texts from Qumran is presented in Chart C 1 at the end of chapter 3. For comparative purposes this information has been repeated in Chart C 2, with added information from the other Jewish texts written before Philo's time. Two main threads contributing to Jewish angelology, the Divine Council and solar or fire associations, appear in the guise of a) the throne of God in heaven, surrounded by various angelic beings, or conceived of as "king", Father, or Monad, and b) fire, sun, or the derived concept of light. Because these two main motifs, the throne and sun/fire, appear consistently in almost all the texts, their appearance is tabulated in chart C 3, in order to make a comparative analysis of all the texts.

CHART C 2. Distribution of prominent angelological motifs encountered in the Jewish texts before Philo.

Common elements	Ez 1	Ez 10	Ps Ez	*Songs Sab. Sacr.*	I *Enoch BW*	Dan 7	Dan 10	*Tobit*
SUN/FIRE	4,13,27	2,6	12,13a	405Fr20.20-22.9	14.8-13;18, 22	9	6	!
Streams of Fire from the Wheels			11b†	403Fr1ii 6-9 405 Fr 5 ii, iii 405Fr20.11 21/22	14.19	9,10		
THRONE	26	1		405Fr20ii.2	14.18, 20	9 pl, 13, 14		3.16; 12.12-15
DO NOT TURN	9,12,17	11,16	6b	405 Fr25.5				
OPHANIM	15-21	2,6,9-13 16,17,19	10,11	403Fr 1ii.15 405Fr20ii.3				
GALGAL		2,6,13		405Fr20 10	14.18	9		
CHERUBIM		2-9 14-22		405Fr 20 5 405Fr 20 3	14.18 8-13?			
HASHMAL	4,27			405Fr 20 10			5*	

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*Loins girded with the fine gold of Uphaz: v.5

† Incorrect Reconstruction by Dimant. See discussion in par. 8.2.1 and on the text 4Q Pseudo Ezekiel in par. 8.3.1
 ! Light as a motif throughout the narrative, derived from "sun/fire".

CHART C 3. The motifs of SUN/FIRE and THRONE in all the texts studied.

TEXTS	SUN /FIRE	THRONE
Ezekiel 1	4,13,27	26
Ezekiel 10	2,6	1
Pseudo-Ezekiel	12,13a	-
Songs Sab. Sacr.	405 Frg. 20.20-22.9	405 Frg. 20 ii.2, 403Frg.1ii15
I *Enoch BW*	14:8-13; 18,22	14:18, 20
Tobit	†	3:16; 12:12-15
Daniel 7	9	9 pl, 13 by implication
Daniel 10	6	-
Philo	*Cher.* 26,31, *Op.* 116.*	-[2]
Apocryphon of John	-	-[3]
C. Hermeticum	I *Poim*; XVI Aescl.	-
Chaldean Oracles	Frg. 80 (rays of sun) Frg. 87,85 (material connectors)	-
Hebrews	1:7	1:8; 8:1; 12:2. 1:3, 13; 9:24; 10:12 10:13 by implication
Revelation	Sun: 1:16; 6:12; 7:16; 8:12; 10:1; 12:1; 16:8; 19:17; 21:23; 22:5 Eyes like a flame of fire: 1:14; 2:18; 19:12 Fire burning before the throne: 4:5 Fire as a punitive element: 8:7, 8; 9:17, 18; 11:5; 14:10, 18; 16:8; 17:16; 18:8; 19:20; 20:9, 10, 14, 15; 21:8	mainly in chapters 4, 5, 7, 19-22; plural in 20:4

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† Appears only by implication, in the form of "light" (derived from "sun/fire").

 * ὁ μέγας ἡγεμών. (Used here of the sun, but also used of Zeus in Plato's *Phaedrus* 246e 4).

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[2] Appears only once in his entire *corpus*, in a negative connotation.

[3] Appears only once (II 24.1), also with a negative connotation.

1) <u>Throne</u>

The distribution of this motif is very interesting and clearly indicates that Jewish angelology underwent a radical change during the first century CE. The only texts which do not mention the throne of God in heaven are the very conservative *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, and Philo's *corpus*, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the *Chaldean Oracles*. *Tobit* mentions the throne of God in heaven by implication in 3:16 and 12:12-15. The actual phrase in G II 3:16 is "the glorious presence of the Lord" in a Divine Council setting. GI has "in the presence of glory[4] of the great Raphael". The Divine Council setting and the absence of the anthropomorphic "throne" metaphor, and in G I the substitution of Raphael, may be an indication that *Tobit* has an early, deuteronomistical orientation, which wanted to combat the belief that the Deity actually dwelt within a sanctuary, whether on earth or in heaven. The Gnostic text *Apocryphon of John* II, 24.1 mentions a throne of the ignorant Demiurge hidden in a cloud, i.e. also with a negative connotation.[5] In Philo's entire *corpus* the word θρόνος is only mentioned once, at *de Congressu* xxi 18, and also in a negative connotation.

Philo represents a crucial transitional stage in Jewish angelology, where the abstractions of Platonism come into play. He clearly reflects the effect of Hellenism on the traditional metaphor of the throne of God, by referring to "the Great King" (*Op.69-72*) rather than using the throne metaphor. It appears that Philo, Gnosticism and Neoplatonism transformed the throne metaphor into an abstract concept. The *Corpus Hermeticum* and *Chaldean Oracles* use the term "Monad" or "Father.[6] The Neoplatonist Iamblichus for example states "Prior to the true beings and to the universal principles there is the one god, prior cause even of the first god and king, remaining unmoved in the singularity of his own unity" (*de Myst*. Book 8.1). However, Christianity could continue the anthropomorphic concept of the throne, and combine it with the concept of "Father", because Jesus, the Son of God, was incarnated as man.

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[4] *I Enoch Book of Watchers* 14:20 uses the term "the Great Glory" as a title for the Lord.
[5] This seems to confirm the understanding of some scholars that the origins of Gnosticism may be seen in a Jewish attitude of rebellion.
[6] *Corpus Hermeticum* I (*Poimandres*) and *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI (*Asclepius*); *Chaldean Oracles* Frg. 22, 44, 78 have "most kingly All-Father".

In Daniel 7:9,10 in a Divine Council context where the court sat in judgement, plural thrones are mentioned. In *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 4Q403 Frg.1ii, line 15,[7] and possibly in 4Q 405 20 ii 21-22[8] plural thrones appear to be intended (Newsom 1998:286, 338). In Rev 4:4, twenty-four thrones surround the throne of the "Lord God Almighty", and Rev 20:4 seems to indicate some form of deification for the souls who were beheaded, even though their reign is limited to a thousand years. The fact that *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, Daniel and Revelation make marked reference to angelic activity in the context of the heavenly throne, mentioned in plural, seems to indicate a connection between Jewish angelology and the concept of deification for certain righteous figures or individuals. In *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* this is connected to the concept of deification in the *merkabah* context and in Daniel to the apocalyptic context. A combination of both apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism is present in Revelation, and to some extent in Hebrews.

2) <u>Fire/Sun</u>

The motif of fire, sun and/or light appears fairly consistently as an intimate part of the throne of God, and in the throne context usually signals angelic activity. Fire or sun allusions appear in all the texts except *Tobit* and the *Apocryphon of John*.[9] The allusion to the returning to "the Father" via the rays of the sun, which are equated to the "material maintainers/ connectors" in Frgs. 85 and 87 of the *Chaldean Oracles*, seems to be precisely the same process as that described in shamanic rituals. Figure 4 witnesses to the formalization of this primitive idea in the ritual of the ancient Egyptian religion. In Hebrews the only references to the fire motif in relation to angelology is to ministering spirits as "flames of fire" (Heb 1:7), and then the striking comment in 12:29 "for our God is a consuming fire". The replacement of the sun by the Lamb on the throne of God in the apocalyptic ending of Revelation may be a confirmation of this line of thinking. In Revelation 4 "lightnings" proceed from the throne and there are seven torches of fire

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[7] והללו יחד מרכבות דבירו וברכו "and the chariots of his inner shrine give praise together".
[8] Newsom (1998:338) notes that it is uncertain whether מושבי here is a plural of majesty or whether multiple thrones are referred to.
[9] The absence in the gnostic text is interesting but the significance is not clear at this stage.

burning before the throne - the seven spirits of God (v.5), but in the eschatological new Jerusalem (Rev 22:5) there is no lamp or sun, because "the Lord God will be their light".

3) <u>Streams of fire from the wheels</u> of the *merkabah* occur only in *I Enoch* 14:19, Dan 7:9-10, and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 4Q405. The appearance of this motif in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* line 11b as a reconstruction by Dimant is incorrect according to my analysis (see the discussion below in 8.3.2 on *Pseudo-Ezekiel*). This motif could not have been derived from Ezekiel, unless Ez 1:13 was interpreted by the author of *I Enoch* in this more specific way (see the comment in Charts C 1 and 2). On the basis of priority, it seems that this motif in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* must have been derived from *I Enoch Book of Watchers* if the relatively later dating of Daniel is correct. It seems to represent constant angelic activity issueing from the throne of God/Father. Interestingly, in Revelation 22, the stream flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb is "the water of life" rather than fire.

4) *Hashmal* occurs in a chiastic construction in Ez 1:4 and 27, in Ez 8:2, and in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, but nowhere else in the Bible. In chart C 2, the fine gold of Uphaz in Dan 10:5 may be akin to *hashmal*, because of its association with the loins of the man clothed in linen whose face is like lightning and his eyes like fire, and may also be connected to the throne vision of the resurrected Jesus wearing a golden girdle in Rev 1:13. In some texts, where one might expect it, *hashmal* is substituted for by נגה, which is also used in the sense of a divine reflection of light. Collins (1997b:132) has recognised that "five names for angelic brigades in rabbinic and mystical texts" are derived from Ezekiel 1 and 10: *ophanim*, *galgallim*, (both meaning wheels), *Maʾasim* (creatures or structures), *hashmallim* (electrum), and *tarshishim* (chrysolite).[10] Collins (1997b:132) deduces in the light of this evidence that the development in Jewish angelology cannot be explained simply as a foreign borrowing. Greenberg (1983:167) concurs, stating that virtually every component of Ezekiel's vision can be derived from

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[10] Collins distinguishes between *ophanim* and *galgallim,* whereas I assume they are two names for the same angelic order, the term *galgallim* possibly conveying magical associations derived from a cosmological forerunner of a *Chaldean Oracle* type of milieu.

Israelite tradition, supplemented by neighbouring iconography.[11] My assessment of the significance of *hashmal* is that it signifies a continuous current of angelic energy arising directly from the presence of God on the throne.

5) <u>Wings</u> appear in Ezekiel 1:8, 9, 23, 24, 25, and in Ezekiel 10:5, 8, 16, 19, 21, the twelfth *Sabbath Song* (4Q405 20ii-21-22 line 8), *Pseudo-Ezekiel* line 11b, and in Revelation 4:8; 9:9; 12:14.[12] The significance of wings in relation to mediation between heaven and earth, is discussed in the Excursus in chapter 3 part 1. The distribution of this motif among the texts shows up the connection between Revelation and Ezekiel in terms of the *merkabah*. The absence in Hebrews may reflect the Platonic tendency to abstraction in Hebrews as distinct from Revelation, even though they are both concerned with the *merkabah* throne. This distribution also points to a very interesting connection between the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* and Revelation in that the sound produced by the movement of the wings of the living beings or cherubim in Ezekiel 1 and 10 is said to produce "the voice of speech", whereas only in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Rev 4:8 is the movement of the wings of the living beings or cherubim said to effect the praise by the angelic beings. In *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* 4Q405 20.ii.21-22, l.12-13 the stillness when the wings cease their movement periodically, seems to be the epitomy of mystical achievement and praise of God.[13] Wings are given to the mother in Rev 12:14 so that she may escape the dragon. By contrast, the only other mention of wings is the sound of the destroying locusts' wings in Rev 9:9.

6) The **_cherubim_** are only mentioned as such in Ezekiel 10 and in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. They do not appear in Ezekiel 1, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, or in Revelation. In Rev 4:5-11, there are four living creatures surrounding the throne, as in Ezekiel 1, akin to the *cherubim*, but not named as such. They are full of eyes in front and behind and they look

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[11] Commenting on Ezekiel 1:13 Greenberg states "if a basis in some earthly reality exists for the fiery appearance moving about among the creatures, it escapes us".

[12] This motif is not indicated on the chart C 3 because only the two main angelological motifs compared across all texts studied, are represented on the chart. Although *cherubim* are mentioned in *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, wings as such are not mentioned, and play no part in the description of Enoch's *merkabah* vision.

[13] "There is a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement a holy praise ... The sound of glad rejoicing falls silent, and there is a stillness of divine blessing in all the camps of the godlike beings."

like a lion, ox, face of a man, flying eagle, and are continually praising God. Unlike the *cherubim* with their four wings in Ezekiel 10 and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *cherubim* in Revelation each have six wings, like the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6:2.

7) <u>Galgal</u>. In Ezekiel 10, *I Enoch* 14:18, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and Daniel, the Aramaic word *galgal* is used for the wheels. There is an interesting connection here with the Egyptian word for Divine Council ḏꜣḏꜣ.t (the nine gods of the heliopolitan *Ennead*), and the Coptic word for wheel, ⲕⲟⲗⲕⲁ. The word *galgal* has the semitic root *glgl*. The Coptic word x̄ⲱx̄ is equivalent to the demotic word ḏꜣḏꜣ, also with the root *glgl*, and means head/leader. Psalm 82:1 specifies that El stands in the midst of the gods (*elohim*), so possibly members of the Divine Council encircled the leader. The implication of the above derivations from the root, is that the Divine Council of the Egyptian *Ennead* has a cosmological significance which has been continued in the *galgal* of Ezekiel 10, *I Enoch Book of Watchers* and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The angelological significance of the conflicting translations concerning the *galgallim* and *ophanim* in Ezekiel 1and 10 (see 3.1.2.3 and n. 48), may thus be related to "magical" connotations in relation to the *Chaldean Oracles*.

8) <u>The phrase "do not turn"</u> occurs in Ezekiel 1, 10, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The emphasis on this feature can at present only be explained in terms of a conservative author or redactor's denial of the "magical" angelic activity of spinning as in the iynx associations, and of returning rapidly, which is referred to in Ezekiel 1:14 and mentioned in Philo as the activity of some souls which act as "ambassadors" for the "Great King". A similar activity is described in the *Chaldean Oracles*. The concept of instant angelic action in the sense of going out on a mission and returning, is also mentioned in one early version of *Tobit*.

8.2 A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF ALL THE TEXTS

A development of angelological explication is perceptible between **Ezekiel 1 and 10**, but the angelological content of Ezekiel 10 is already present in embryo in Ezekiel 1, albeit disguised. Ezekiel 1 clearly forms the foundation of the *merkabah* portrayals in *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, Pseudo-Ezekiel,* and the visions in Daniel 7 and 10. What has emerged in addition through the analysis of the motifs is that Ezekiel 1 also informs the *merkabah* visions of *Revelation*, but not necessarily of Hebrews. Angelological ambiguity serves as a "disguising" function here because the angelological content of Ezekiel 1 and 10 had primitive "magical" connections to those angelological aspects which only emerged much later in the *Chaldean Oracles.* That these aspects may have been apparent to the translators of the Septuagint, would explain the elimination of the key angelological verses Ez 1:14 and Ez 10:14.

A transitional development in Jewish angelology is clearly to be seen in the difference of aspects of the two texts from Qumran which are closely related to motifs in Ezekiel 1 and 10. **Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice** displays a fully developed Jewish angelology with the emphasis on the uniting of mortal and angelic praise at the throne of God in a temple. The setting is ambiguous in that it seems that the temple or throne of God is in heaven, but the praise singing is participated in by the sectarians, together with the complete range of angelic beings. The question is to what extent the sectarians felt themselves to be part of or united with the angelic world. Here, especially in the context of plural thrones, the aspect of deification or "angelification" becomes a crucial issue around which scholars are still in disagreement. This question is discussed finally in 8.3.

In contrast, **Pseudo-Ezekiel** may have been written by a conservative author who wanted to avoid the blatant angelological content of Ezekiel 10, as it makes no reference to motifs from Ezekiel 10, which have angelological and "magical" connotations. It could have been based on Ezekiel 1 alone, but interestingly, the motif of *hashmal* from Ezekiel 1, which also has latent angelological connotations, is also excluded from *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. According to the distribution of motifs in chart C 2, the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* does not mention *cherubim*, *galgal, or hashmal*. The absence of *cherubim* and *galgal* in

Pseudo-Ezekiel is not simply an indication that the author did not have access to Ezekiel 10, because the clearly angelological motif of *hashmal,* which appears in Ezekiel 1 but not in Ezekiel 10, is not mentioned in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* either. I therefore deduce that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has deliberately eliminated the angelological aspects of Ezekiel 1 and reflects extreme conservatism in the matter of angelic activity. Dimant's reconstruction (2001:44) at *Pseudo-Ezekiel* line 11b, of the angelological motif "streams of fire" which represents continuous angelic activity in the *Chaldean Oracle* sense, does not fit with this conclusion.[14] The presence of this motif as a result of reconstruction by Dimant (2001:43), is in conflict with my hypothesis that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* avoided angelic content. Dimant does not supply any notes on her reading on line 11b. Her explanation of her reconstruction (2001:48) is based purely on the "fiery element" in the surrounding context, and is justified by her because "streams of fire" is present in 4Q405 20 111-21-22 and 4Q204 [En c] I vii 1 (*I Enoch* 14:19). She notes that she recognised four possibilities for reconstruction, out of which she chose this one. Keeping in mind Davidson's warning (1992:138) that it is not possible to generalize about the texts from Qumran, and Mach's stressing of the need to deal with the Qumran texts individually,[15] the likelihood that this is an incorrect reconstruction should be considered seriously, especially in view of the analysis of motifs in Charts C 1 and 2. My conclusion is that there would not have been a reference to streams of fire, because this would be a clearly angelic motif in an extremely conservative text. In her analysis of the *Pseudo-Ezekiel* text Dimant (2001:50) finds it surprising that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* "makes so little use of the parallel version of the *merkabah* vision in Ezekiel 10".[16] This is not at all surprising if my hypothesis that *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is extremely conservative is accepted, and confirms that the reconstruction of line 11b as "streams of fire" is not justified. It also demonstrates that the methodology of comparison of motifs is useful in determining the character or ideological orientation of a text.

Bowker (1971:157) suggests that the rabbinic restriction on contemplation of Ezekiel 1 and 10 was imposed partly because of the extreme danger of *merkabah* contemplation if

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[14] Cf. discussion by Dimant referred to in Chapter 3, part 2B.

[15] See Mach (2000b:25), referred to in 3.2.

[16] In Ezekiel 10 the angelological content is overt and generally recognised as such by scholars in this field.

it is attempted by anyone who is unskilled in basic *halakic* knowledge. The difference in these two texts, as well as the absence of Ez 10:14 in the LXX may be explainable in this context.[17] *Pseudo-Ezekiel* contains references to resurrection, possibly in the physical sense, and may therefore be later in date of composition than *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*.

I Enoch Book of Watchers, the earliest known Jewish apocalyptic text, is seminal in respect of Hellenistic concepts of angelic functioning. Enoch is identified as a righteous mortal, as opposed to the "hard of heart". The idea of access to heaven during earthly life is examined in the description of Enoch's heavenly journey. At first his ascent is not reflected as a physical ascent, but in the later parts of *I Enoch* it does appear to imply physical ascent to heaven. *I Enoch Book of Watchers* is similar to Ezekiel 1 and 10, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Daniel in its angelological content in terms of the two main motifs of fire/sun and throne. The only other texts that contain both motifs are *Hebrews* and *Revelation*, both with a clearly Jewish orientation. This seems to confirm that the two motifs of fire/sun and throne are in this context thoroughly Jewish in character, whether they were originally taken over from neighbouring cultures or not. The angelological motifs connected to the throne of God in heaven portrayed in *I Enoch* 14 indicate that these were probably derived from Ezekiel 1 and 10, but interestingly, this text does not mention *hashmal*, nor does it contain the strange denial "do not turn" in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and the texts from Qumran.

I Enoch Book of Watchers represents an interesting transitional stage because in addition to the motifs of fire and throne which, either one or the other, almost all the texts have, it is the earliest description of the "streams of fire" issuing from the wheels. In this text, originally written in Aramaic, the Aramaic word *galgali* is used for the wheels. Interestingly Ezekiel 1 and *Pseudo-Ezekiel* have the "denial of turning" motif, but do not mention the *galgal*, so these two motifs are not necessarily linked, especially as *I Enoch Book of Watchers* and Daniel 7 do not have the "denial of turning" motif, yet mention *galgal*. The connection of spinning with *galgal* is discussed in relation to the mystical

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[17] In Ezekiel 10 the "living creature" is called a cherub, and 10:14 the first face is that of a cherub instead of a man. Mettinger (1982:137) points out that Deuteronomy never mentions the cherubim.

practice of divination connected of *Iynges* and Hekate's top in Appendix 4. The Neoplatonic concept of Hekate's top as the "womb" of the thoughts of the "Father", which are sent out as the *Iynges*, makes the connection to the angelic activity described in Ez 1:14, and to the *galgal* of Ezekiel 10. This may explain why in the Greek version the tell-tale verse (Ezekiel 1:14) was excised from the text by a conservative translator of the Hebrew *Vorlage.*

In the *Book of Watchers* theodicy becomes an issue because evil originates with the watchers in heaven (García Martínez 2004:33), and is defined as the transgressing of God's natural laws.[18] The issue of theodicy is also dealt with in **Tobit** in that Tobit is blinded through no fault of his own during the execution of his duty as an exceptionally righteous Jew. The view expressed by Tobit in the beginning of the narrative that even though he was an exceptionally righteous Jew, he bore a communal guilt because Israel had brought their national disaster upon themselves, reflects a deuteronomistic orientation.

A further response to the vexed question of monotheism and theodicy is the phenomenon of apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism. Although in *Tobit,* a deuteronomistic value system plays a major role in the beginning and middle sections of the narrative, an incipient apocalypticism becomes apparent at the end of *Tobit*, for example, the angel Raphael brings the desperate prayers of *Tobit* and Sarah before the throne of God in a Divine Council setting, not in the temple. The impression given in *Tobit* is that the author has tried to shift the understanding of God as present in a centralised temple, to a God who accompanies his faithful worshipper wherever he goes, in this case through the mediation of Raphael the healing angel.

The transposition of the motif of sun/fire in *Tobit* into God's heavenly light has already been discussed. The presence of the Divine Council thread, with Raphael acting as intermediary from God's throne in heaven to righteous humans on earth, is an interesting

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[18] Two or three centuries later Philo's exegesis interprets the evil angels as the souls of the "hard-hearted" who chose wrongly, i.e. those who rebel.

contradiction of the angelology of the Hebrew Bible where no angels are named as such.[19] Angelic ambiguity is expressly confronted in this puzzling text, which appears to be employed for a didactic, edifying purpose.

The angelology of *Daniel* raises issues which become crucial in the development of Christianity. It is regarded by some scholars as representing an intermediate stage in the preparation for the advent of Jesus as a second divine figure alongside God on his throne in heaven.[20] The combination of angelological motifs in *Daniel* helps to clarify one of the origins of the Jewish angelology, as ancient Egyptian and Ugaritic mythology, and also provides the link to, and makes the angelology of *Revelation* understandable, in the sense of the Son of God (as the Lamb) sharing the throne of God. Angelic ambiguity again plays a role in terms of the presence of plural thrones, which raise the issue of deification with its concommitant complication of the question of monotheism. This is discussed finally in 8.3.4.

In **Philo's** *corpus* a major paradigm shift is apparent. Writing in the Hellenistic milieu of Alexandria, his philosophical orientation led him to acknowledge a gulf between mankind and God. Consequently, in his allegorical exegesis of Gen 6:1-4 he explains the longing of the human being to bridge the gap between God and mankind. He identifies ideal man as occupying a mediating role between heaven and earth, because according to his exegesis of Gen 1:26 and 2:7 man has a mixed nature. This exegesis also addresses the problem of theodicy, and in *Op.* 72-75 Philo's exegesis of Gen 2:7 suggests that a *demiurgos* created man's "lower soul" (Gen 2:7) and this is the source of evil, as opposed to the spirit of God who is all good. The spirit of God was breathed into mankind, and this provided the animation which the "*demiurgos*" could not achieve. This crucial idea was developed to an elaborate extreme by the Gnostics.

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[19] Michael in MT Dan 12:1 is not described as an angel but as "the great prince", and Gabriel, although described as "in swift flight", is called "the man" in MT Dan 9:21.

[20] Deutsch (1999:152) notes that in addition to his identification with the Angel of the Lord, Jesus was identified as "the one like a son of man" via an exegetical transformation of Dan 7:9-10; 13, and Psalm 110.

The telling absence of the throne motif in *Philo* is a clear indication of the dramatic effect that the abstract thought of Hellenistic philosophy had. In spite of this absence, the presence of the sun motif in Philo witnesses to the centrality of its universal cosmological significance, and the understanding at that time that the creative force manifested in the sun was associated with God. Philo's allegorical exegesis of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac expresses his understanding of angels and its implications in a nutshell. His combination of Jewish piety and Platonic philosophy is clearly to be seen in that the object of the exercise is "to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels" (cf. Appendix 5). Similarities are perceptible between Philo's development of the *Logos* idea (as based on his exegesis of Gen 1:26-27 and 2:7), and the understanding of Christianity as seen in 1 Cor 2:11b-12. "So also no one comprehends the thoughts of God except the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God, that we might understand the gifts bestowed on us by God."

The Gnostic text, the **Apocryphon of John** has points of contact with Christianity but eliminates any reference to the major angelological motives of sun and throne (except to the latter in a negative connotation). Yet in its addressing of the question of angelic involvement in the origin of evil it has so much unambiguous angelic activity that one can only interpret this text as either deriving from a totally different tradition, or as representing a deliberate turning away from traditional Jewish angelology. The latter possibility supports the hypothesis that Gnosticism rejects or rebels against its Jewish roots in that neither of the two cardinal motifs of Jewish angelology, the throne and fire/sun, are mentioned in the *Apocryphon of John*, (except that the throne is alluded to in a negative context). A poignant aspect of this text is the Neoplatonic expression of the yearning for reconcilation with the "Father", yet the recognition of an absolute Monad beyond involvement with the affairs of this world. The distribution of motifs in this text (absence of both "throne" and "sun/fire") confirms the view that Gnosticism arose from the "underworld of Platonism" (Dillon 1977:396), which may have emerged first in Alexandria, but an Alexandria informed by the last gasp of ancient Egyptian priesthood as much as by Hellenism. The "underworld of Platonism" was explored by Jewish, Greek

and Egyptian philosophers and Christians, hence the difficulty of clarifying the origin of Gnosticism.

The **Corpus Hermeticum** agrees with Philo's *corpus* and the *Chaldean Oracles* in that the fire/sun motif is present, but not the throne motif. Considering the Egyptian associations of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, it is not surprising that the sun/fire motif is present. That the throne motif is not present, is probably due to the Platonic influence in terms of the abstract concept of a "Monad" as the absolutely separate God beyond reach of humankind. In the *Corpus Hermeticum* Hermes the messenger of the gods in the Greek tradition, is equated with the ancient Egyptian god, Thoth, and called the *Logos*. The *Corpus Hermeticum* expresses mankind's desire for salvation, and describes the process of deification in terms of the goal of heavenly ascent so as to be reconciled/united with God the ultimate Creator (cf. the Ptolemaic Gnostic Gem in appendix 5).

The **Chaldean Oracles'** perception of the soul as a triad is harmonious with the concept of Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:26, 27. Both the *Chaldean Oracles* and Philo explain the longing of the "awakened" soul to ascend to God in heaven on the principle that the soul carries a "divine spark" from its creator. Frg. 22 expresses the monotheism of the *Chaldean Oracles* clearly: "For the Intellect of the Father said for all things to separate into three, governing all things by the Intellect <of the very first> eternal <Father> (< πρωτίστου πατρος>)".[21]

Similar motifs and descriptions of angelic functioning between Ezekiel 1 and 10 and the *Chaldean Oracles* indicate that there may be some form of connection between them. According to the *Chaldean Oracles*, for heavenly ascent, intermediaries are necessary, but it is interesting that the *Chaldean Oracles* system of three orders of intermediaries appears to be derived from Jewish angelology. The first order is equivalent to the archangels which surround the throne of God ("The Holy Rulers"). The third class consists of those angels which bear the throne and constantly praise God, i.e. the

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[21] Frg. 44 of the *Chaldean Oracles* suggests that the soul was perceived as a divine triad consisting of Intellect, Divine Will and "pure Love as the guide and holy bond of all things" Majercik (1989:67).

seraphim, *ophanim* and *cherubim*. The second class is described in Frg. 78 as the couriers or ferrymen who transmit messages between the intelligible and sensible worlds, i.e. from and to the Father (see chapter 6, part 3). These are equivalent to the *Iynges* who issue from one of the two hypostases of the Supreme Father. Like rays from the sun, the connective rays which emanate from the Father, the Primal Fire, disseminate stability and harmony throughout the Universe (Majercik 1989:11). Frg. 87 describes the *Iynges* as being in continuous motion "hastening away from the Father and hastening again back towards him (ἀχοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι). Lewy (1978:250) describes the movement of the *Iynges* as that they "'hasten forth' out of Him, 'leap' into the spheres and then 'return' to Him", and they 'leap in tireless revolution into the worlds at the mighty command of the Father, as the thoughts of the Supreme Being: thinking through circular motion" (Lewy 1978:132). Lewy sees a connection of these noetic powers with the ritual of Hekate's magical top,[22] which was originally derived from the Iynx, a long-necked ("wry-neck") bird which produced oracular sounds when spun during the original theurgic rites. The association here of the "tireless revolution" hints at the express noting of the living beings as "not turning" as they move in Ezekiel 1 and 10, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Pseudo-Ezekiel*. The movement is so similar to that described in Ezekiel 1:14 that the possibility must be considered that there may be a connection between the *Iynges* in the *Chaldean Oracles* and the underlying angelic activity of Ezekiel 1 and 10 - a connection which the later rabbis and the redactors or translators of the LXX of Ezekiel 1 would have wanted to hide because of the primitive "magical" connections which became recogniseable in the *Chaldean Oracles*. The understanding of the angelic activity of the *Iynges* as described in the *Chaldean Oracles* and that described in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and its deriviative in *I Enoch Book of Watchers* is so remarkably similar that one is tempted to deduce that this is an expression of the essence of the Jewish understanding of angelic activity.

Eskola (2001:211) finds confirmation in the **Letter to the Hebrews** that *merkabah* mysticism influenced the formation of early Christology. The importance of angels is minimized, and Jesus, seated as high priest at the right hand of God's throne, is compared

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[22] See 6.3.3.2.

to Melchizedek. His role as heavenly high priest and intercessor is stressed, and the functions and characteristics that originally applied to angels are applied to the exalted Christ (Eskola 2001:9), but at the same time these functions are anchored to his humanity (Heb 2:14-18; 4:14-5:9). The underlying parallels with the unique ancient Egyptian concept of divine kingship as an institution that underlay them, explains the transition from Jewish origin to Christianity as portrayed in the *Letter to the Hebrews* regarding *merkabah* mysticism. This phenomenon which ensconces Jesus as God's vice-regent is more easily understood as monotheistic with the help of the mythological framework of Ugarit, as it appears in Dan 7:9-14 and 10:5-6. The possible significance of multiple thrones in Daniel, *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* and Revelation has been mentioned in relation to deification, and is discussed further in 8.3.

The context of the appearance of the motif of sun/fire in Hebrews is in agreement with the findings in earlier texts that judgement almost invariably accompanies mention of the throne. In Heb 1:7 the throne motif of Heb 1:3 is still linked to the sun/fire motif through a reference to Psalm 104:4 ("you make the winds (KJV "spirits) your/his messengers, fire and flame your/his ministers"). By referring to Ps 45:7-8 (6-7) the motif of throne mentioned in Heb 1:8 identifies the Son as God himself, and brings in the association of judgement ("But of the Son he says, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the righteous sceptre is the sceptre of thy kingdom"). Thus the throne motif becomes a metaphor for the new status of Christ after his resurrection, by employing the ancient Egyptian tradition, as discussed in 7.1.3. In Hebrews the other main angelological thread of the Divine Council, is only perceptible in Christ's kingship together with God.

In the **Book of Revelation** various angelic figures undergo subtle shifts of identity in order to conform to the requirements of monotheism. Michael represents Christ in the battle against evil (chaos) and in the end, Christ is represented on God's throne by the sacrificial Lamb. Philo's Platonically orientated exegesis of the "flaming sword" ('fire and knife') which "severs the 'mortal element' away from himself, thus to fly upward to

God with his understanding stripped of its trammels"[23] supplies a hint which helps to make sense of the supreme "once for all" sacrifice of the Son of God/Son of Man. Because Jesus is symbolised on the throne as a Lamb, Christ's sovereignty does not contradict monotheism, thus the "fruitful" ambiguity of Jewish angelology (Ashton 1998:79) has served to make Christianity compatible with monotheism.

In Revelation the angelological motifs of sun and fire are very much in evidence as attributes of Jesus as an angelic figure (1:14, 16; 10:1). These allusions bring the associations of the sun as a cosmic element to the creative aspects of the sun as divinity. From Revelation 19 onwards the sun/fire motif undergoes a remarkable development. At 20:4a the throne motif is once again combined with judgement. In the dramatic switch from the Jewish apocalyptic description of the throne of God in heaven, to the monotheistic worship of Jesus as the Lamb on the throne of God, allusions to angelic motifs from earlier texts provide clues as to which figures are to be identified with each other. The dominant presence of the sun/fire motif in combination with the culminating image of the throne motif in Revelation confirms the appropriateness of identifying these angelological motifs as a reflection of the diachronic development of Jewish angelology. The implications of the description of plural thrones in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, Daniel and Revelation are significant in terms of the critical issue of deification and heavenly ascent. This crucial angelological issue is discussed below.

8.3 OVERALL ANGELOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The following four significant angelological aspects arise out of the texts of this study, all of which impinge on the question of monotheism: the origin of evil and theodicy, apocalypticism and *merkabah* mysticism, angelic ambiguity, and deification.

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[23] In his exegesis in *Cher.* 31 of the 'fire and knife' (see chapter 5) Philo explains that the cherubim are symbols of God's two potencies: sovereignty and goodness, and the fiery sword is the symbol of reason, which unites them, "for it is through reason that God is both ruler and good."

8.3.1 THE ORIGIN OF EVIL AND THEODICY

From the third-century BCE to the early second-century CE Jews became increasingly concerned with theodicy.[24] According to the Pentateuch, YHWH is a righteous God - he is not a God who makes the innocent suffer with the wicked, or who kills innocent and wicked alike.[25] Yet because monotheism was embraced and could not be denied, the responsibility for evil remained unaccounted for. According to *I Enoch Book of Watchers*, evil arose as a result of the sin of the Watchers, therefore it originates in heaven, and is introduced on earth by the action of angelic beings, specifically the "Watchers".[26] A rebellion in heaven initiates the transgression of divinely appointed boundaries, which leads to illicit revelation, resulting ultimately in violence perpetrated by the gigantic offspring. Chapters 12 to 16 teach that the primordial punishment of the Watchers did not end their evil influence in the world because, having originated in heaven, their spirits were immortal:

> "And Uriel said to me 'There stand the angels who mingled with the women - and their spirits - having assumed many forms - bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods until the day of the great judgement, in which they will be judged with finality'" (*I Enoch* 19.1).

In *I Enoch* the "chosen" are defined as the righteous who possess revealed wisdom, as opposed to the "hard of heart" who have not observed and acted according to the Lord's commands (in this case, having trespassed the set boundaries between heaven and earth). This is congruent with Philo's metaphorical interpretation of this myth in *Gig*.17 to 18 which reflects his view of God and angels: he quotes Psalm 77 (78):49: "He sent out upon them the anger of His wrath, wrath and anger and affliction, a mission by evil angels". Philo's orthodox Judaism is reflected in his view that God is all good, that mankind has the responsibility to make a choice between good and evil, but his allegorical use of the flashing sword and *cherubim* betrays his Platonic orientation. However, his quotation from Psalm 77(78):49 indicates that the evil angels were used by God to effect affliction on those who had chosen unworthily. This confirms that evil

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[24] Charlesworth 2003:471-472.
[25] Houtman 2003:151.

originates in heaven, but does not explain how. By going back further to explain how evil angels originated Philo arrives at the crucial issue of choice: originally, the rebellious angels choose wrongly.[27]

Colson and Whitaker (1929:444, 445) interpet Philo to mean in *Gig*. 17-18 that "evil angels/demons" are not "God's spiritual messengers", but actually the souls of the wicked, i.e. those who descend to earth to mate with the daughters of men, thus choosing the merely sensual pleasures. They interpret *Gig*. 17-18 as an account of the descent of souls into bodies. Here I understand Philo to place himself squarely within the matrix of the theodicy of the *Book of Watchers* - evil originates in heaven: the rebellious Watchers make their evil choice, and the consequences, experienced on earth, must be punished by a God who is just and all good. Runia (2003:604) emphasises Philo's main strategy in confronting the problem of theodicy: God is consistently dissociated from the causation of any kind of evil; God in his concern for the world always has positive intentions - human beings have a free will, and are to be held responsible for the wicked things they do, so the pedagogic function of punishment outweighs its retributive purpose - God's intentions are always salvific. Runia (2003:604) points out that while to Philo moral evil is explainable, the apparent imperfections of the physical world lead him to resort to Greek philosophy, and a "mild and vague form of dualism". This "mild" form of dualism in Philo was developed to an extreme in Gnosticism, using a mythological explanation, for instance in *Apocryphon of John* the Monad is removed from any involvement in the creation of evil, which is attributed to an ignorant demiurge.

8.3.2 APOCALYPTICISM AND *MERKABAH* MYSTICISM

> "…so will it be at the close of the age. The Son of man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all evildoers, and throw them into the furnace of fire; there men will weep and gnash their teeth. Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father". Matt 13:40b-43a.

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[26] García Martínez (2003b:8) describes the theodicy in *I Enoch Book of Watchers* as based on the "old myth of Rebellion in Heaven", but states that the origin of this concept is not known.

[27] Interestingly, this is completely in line with the theodicy of the XVIII th Dynasty Egyptian manuscript of the *Instruction for Merikare,* E 120, in which the instructor reveals to his son his own responsibility for the land's troubles during his reign, stressing the role of individual choice.

The quotation above demonstrates a connection between angelic activity in association with judgement in an apocalyptic framework, and continued existence after death in a context of heavenly ascent, still associated (by implication) with the motifs of sun (ἐκλάψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος) and throne or kingdom (βασιλεία).

Himmelfarb (1991:90) recognises that it should be possible to identify the time of the transition to this idea of heavenly ascent for ordinary mortals: "When did the idea arise that under certain circumstances ... human beings can cross the boundary and join the angels?" Scholem (1955:9-13, 43) saw a chain of esoteric tradition starting with the celestial journeys of the pre-Christian apocalyptists, running within the boundaries of the rabbinic orthopraxy of Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai in the first century CE to the mysticism of the later Hekhalot texts. With respect to angelological aspects the influence of *merkabah* mysticism on the reception of Christianity can be seen clearly in the Letter to the Hebrews, where imagery from Psalm 110 related to *merkabah* mysticism is used to describe the new state of affairs on God's throne in heaven, where Jesus as high priest shares the throne with God in a monotheistic setting.

8.3.3 ANGELIC AMBIGUITY

The development of the concept of deification during the last centuries before the Common Era seems to parallel the diachronic course of Jewish angelology, but the issue of monotheism as mentioned above, is a complicating factor. An interesting example of diffusion of the boundary between God and an angelic emmisary is found in the textual differences between *Tobit* 3:16 GII and GI, where the prayers of Tobit and Sarah are simultaneously heard in "the glorious presence of God" (G II), whereas G I has "in the presence of glory of the great Raphael". [28] Another hint of Raphael's ambiguity is in *Tobit* 12:19-21, where Raphael (alias Azariah), having revealed his true identity, says "Look I am ascending to the One who sent me" (cf. Judg 13:20 and John 16:5). The differences between the Greek translation of Daniel 3:25 and the MT bears out Mach's observation (1992:100) that the LXX clearly distinguishes between God and angel, and in addition, as the members

of the Divine Council become "angels" in the MT, so the "gods" recede. He also notes (1992:99) that the LXX translator avoids the plural of θεός, except when he puts it in the words of the heathen king: θεὸς τῶν θεῶν (LXX Dan 2:47). When Azariah[29] (Abednego) is in the fiery furnace as a mortal youth with two other youths, there is a divine figure alongside of them. In the words of the heathen king, "the form of the fourth is like a son of the gods" לבר־אלהין. In the MT verse 28 indicates that the heathen king recognises the figure who is like "a son of the gods", or like a "Son of God" , an angel (not the Son of God himself) sent by the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Thus in Dan 3:25 the fourth figure is בר אלהין but in the OG version of the LXX (3:92) it is not a son of God, or a son of the gods, nor an angel of God, but a *likeness of* an angel of God ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ. (Theodotion has ὁμοία υἱῷ θεοῦ). Mach (1992:105) concludes that in the Greek translation of Daniel "Engel sind nun also rein ausführendes Organ".

The phenomenon of a "conceptual ambiguity" is also in evidence in the Letter to the Hebrews in the "substitution" or shift of referent from God to Christ (Kreitzer 1987:18).[30] The application of divine functions and Hebrew bible texts to redeemer figures in the Pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrates that the "conceptual overlap" between God and an angelic emmisary was already an aspect of Jewish exegesis prior to Paul's time. Longenecker (1970:27) points out that the portrayal of Jesus as an angel occured in both heterodox and more orthodox formulations. Tertullian for example accuses the Ebionites of making of Christ

> "a mere man, though more glorious than the prophets, in that they say that an angel was in him" (*De Carn. Christi* 14.5).

Justin Martyr also witnesses to an angelopmorphic representation of Christ:

> "But if you knew, Trypho, who He is that is called at one time the Angel of great counsel, and a Man by Ezekiel, and like the Son of Man by Daniel, and a Child[31] by

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[28] Fitzmyer (2003:160) calls it "a curious twist!"

[29] Also the pseudonym of Raphael in the story of *Tobit*.

[30] Capes (1992:185) confirms that the "conceptual overlap" noted by Kreitzer in Paul's use of Yahweh texts from Palestinian Judaism reflects a fluid boundary between God and Christ. Jesus' Lordship and his resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of God was used by Paul to apply to Jesus concepts and functions originally reserved for Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible (Capes 1992:184-5), for instance Isa 45:23 refers to Yahweh, but in Phil 2:9-11 this quotation is applied to Christ.

Isaiah, ... you would not have blasphemed Him who has now come, and been born, and suffered, and ascended to heaven; who shall also come again, and then your twelve tribes shall mourn" (*Dial.* 126.1-2).

The subtle shift whereby this "conceptual overlap" is achieved is described in chapter 7. The implications of this phenomenon in combination with Christian *merkabah* mysticism as described in Hebrews, seen in the broad context of Jewish angelology, are discussed below.

8.3.4 HEAVENLY ASCENT, DEIFICATION, THE SON OF MAN, AND MONOTHEISM

The development of the concept of deification during the last centuries BCE seems to parallel the diachronic course of Jewish angelology, but the issue of monotheism is a complicating factor. The concept of "deification" needs to be distinguished from the Graeco-Roman idea of deification of the ruler, usually, but not always, after death. Moses, Enoch, Elijah and possibly Paul, and prominent rabbis such as rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai reported the experience of ascent to heaven. Hurtado (1988:21) demonstrated that the literature of post-exilic Judaism exhibits an interest in various figures who are described as holding a position next to God in honour and power, which we designate as "divine agency".[32]

In *Cher.* 31 Philo's exegesis of Gen 22:6 reveals that his understanding of the goal of heavenly ascent is deification: "desiring to sever and consume the mortal element away from himself and thus to fly upward to God with his understanding stripped of its trammels" (cf. appendix 5). The same goal is expressed in *Corpus Hermeticum* XII: salvation is only for those who recognise themselves as ensnared by matter, and have the will to leave their bodies and reascend to the eighth region of the Ogdoad, where they attain deification. *Corpus Hermeticum* I.26 expresses this very clearly: "They rise up to the father in order and surrender themselves to the powers, and, having become powers,

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[31] See the beginning of the *Apocryphon of John,* 6.1.1.2.
[32] In *I Enoch* 71, Enoch is addressed as the Son of Man, thereby implying that he has undergone a process of spiritual and/or physical transformation, perhaps even angelification or semi-divinization, indicating a transformation from adept to angelic vice-regent of God (Deutsch 1999:32).

they enter into god. This is the final good for those who have received knowledge: to be made god."

Collins (1997a:82-85) notes that "several kinds of quasi-divine figures appear in Jewish texts from the Hellenistic period that seem to call for some qualification of the idea of monotheism". Eskola (2001:329) suggests that the concept of "divine agents" may have provided early Jewish Christianity with a conceptual framework into which to begin fitting the exalted Jesus, because they believed that Jesus had been given a position "at the right hand of God".[33]

As regards deification seen from the point of view of being seated on a throne in heaven as for instance Jesus in Hebrews and Revelation, there are precursors to this idea in the Hebrew Bible (Daniel 10:5-6), the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in some Pseudepigrapha not dealt with in this dissertation. The Qumran sectarians expected to share a common future with the angels. Regarding the issue of whether they believed in the transformation of the just into angelic beings, and contra Davidson (1992:156), I suggest that they very possibly did, and that the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* represent one of the earliest witnesses to the idea. There is an interesting connection between Daniel and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* because apart from Revelation, they are the only texts which mention multiple thrones. The implication of the plural thrones is that accommodation has been made for plural deities or at least one more deity in the context of the *merkabah* throne of God. This must be considered in view of the other texts which refer to multiple thrones in heaven. Rev 4:4 mentions 24 seats around the throne of God. In Rev 20:4 there is an allusion to plural thrones - those seated on them were engaged in judgement. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* mentions what can be interpreted as plural thrones in the seventh *Sabbath Song*, 4Q403 Frg. 1 ii, line 15 מרכבות; the eleventh *Sabbath Song* 4Q405 Frg. 20 ii line 4 and 5; and the twelfth *Sabbath Song* the same fragment, in line 11 (chapter 3 part 2A).

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[33] Deutsch (1999:157) points out that "Although Christianity suppressed or even attacked the belief in traditional Jewish mediator figures, it would have been impossible for early Christians to accept Jesus as a "second God," were it not for the precedent set by earlier Jewish angelic vice regent traditions".

Davidson (1992:156) does not find any basis for the view which sees the spirits of deceased humans becoming angels: "In the Qumran literature, the distinction between human and angels seems always to be maintained". However, Mach (1992:170) points out that the idea of the transformation of the just into angelic beings after death has some parallels in other writings of the period, eg. Daniel 12 and *I Enoch* 104. Collins (1997b:129) comments that tradition about resurrection were certainly known at Qumran. He defines the sectarian belief as "that which lives on is the spirit, which is either raised up to fellowship with the angels or sent down to torture in the Pit. The idea of eternal life was rooted in the cultic experience of the sect, whose members believe that they were already sharing the life of the angels in their community". Collins concludes (1997b:149) that the scrolls do not describe the transformation of the members into the angelic state, but they do claim a degree of present participation in the angelic world.

As regards my hypothesis that the ancient Egyptian concept of the deification of the pharaoh (Horus) upon his enthronement as son of Osiris which was perpetuated through various mythological motifs in the syncretistic Hellenistic milieu, I conclude that the ancient mythological concepts did indeed play a vital role in the process of assimilation of deification to the concept of the Son of God. Tobin (1989:195) recognised that the Egyptian system of mytho-theology contained within itself "the possibility of producing a more abstract and intellectual ideal which was there for the comprehension of those who had the ability to perceive its inherent implications". The ubiquitous golden thread of the institution of Egyptian divine kingship runs through the history of the idea of angels from the beginning to the end - disguised and hidden by ideology and counter-movement. In our current climate in the aftermath of "the age of Enlightenment", the influence of Egypt has been underplayed because of the intellectual strength of Greece's contribution. Bousset (1913:423) recognised that deification and sonship to God were understood by Irenaeus as synonymous concepts.[34] In mythological terms it is the combination of Christ's humanity and his origin in the royal birth as divine Son of God, that is only clearly understandable against the background of the ancient Egyptian institution of

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[34] "Irenaeus speaks actually without embarrassment of the point that we men are to become Gods … the God-like Logos has become man so that man could become God's son, absorbing in himself the fullness of the deity (the Logos)" (Bousset 1913:423, 424).

divine kingship. Both the Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation convey a concept of Christ as functioning as an angelic intermediary figure, but this was disguised, modified and transformed into a "mutation of monotheism".[35] In addition, both these texts stress that the unique difference between Christ and any angelic figure is his humanity and his self-sacrifice: in Hebrews as eternal high priest according to the order of Melchizedek, and in Revelation as the sacrificial Lamb.

8.4. CONCLUSION

Jewish angelology originated in two separate threads: the Divine Council and solar worship, often associated with fire and/or light. Both these threads have traditionally been regarded as having polytheistic connotations. However, in terms of the diachronic development of these threads in respect of angelology, a supreme monotheistic authority over polytheistic manifestations culminates in a resolution of polytheistic elements. Even in Christianity, angelic functioning arises from the throne of God in heaven, is related to judgement, and intimately related to fire and sun (or light).

Ezekiel 1:14 and 10:14 may have been eliminated by conservative LXX translators because of their desire to suppress Jewish angelology, because of insight into its "magical" aspects. The motif similarity and possibly even lexical connection between the angelic activity in Ez 1:14 and the messenger activity of the *Iynges* reflected in the *Chaldean Oracles* is there (from the "Father" and back - "running to and fro" etc), but the actual age of the *Chaldean Oracles* is unknown.[36] Nevertheless, I argue that the

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[35] Nickelsburg (2001:210) finds in the Letter to the Hebrews "the ultimate christianizing" of Jewish traditions about angels as mediators, intercessors, and judicial opponents. Hengel (1983:221), while admitting that an angel Christology was a real possibility because in Jewish writings there were several exalted characters that were brought into close relationship with the angels, found no traces of an angel Christology. He denies that there is any exact *typos* in pre-Christian Judaism that could explain Jesus' exalted status as Lord on the heavenly throne. Fletcher-Louis (1997:251-253) followed Fossum in attempting to find a pre-Christian conception of a divine angelic intermediary, but could not detect more than angelomorphic identity in Christological statements. Eskola (2001:389) too, finds no evidence in the New Testament that the resurrected Jesus would have been described according to the pattern of a divine angelic intermediary and concludes that angelic figures or heavenly intermediaries cannot provide a firm background for the development of Christology. However, cf. Hurtado (1988:128) who suggests that there was binitarian worship of Jesus and God by early Christians, cf. and Mark S. Smith (2002b:649) who suspects that there was "amnesia about older, cultural understandings of divinity".

[36] The real problem is the origin of the concept of the four-winged *Iynges*. The *Iynges* are mentioned indirectly in the *Chaldean Oracles*, performing the same function as the "living beings"/cherubim in

Chaldean Oracles probably arose out of ancient knowledge connected to mantic/divinatory practices going back much further than the second century CE. Archeological activity over the past two hundred years has provided iconographical and literary evidence going back to at least 1000 BCE that undeniably links the Jewish religion not only to polytheism, but to mantic and divinatory practices which usually are defined as to do with "magic" (see chapter 2 and Appendix 4). Traces of these are also perceptible in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. Abraham's covenant with YHWH "but the bird was not divided", Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; Saul and the witch of Endor. Either the "magical activity" is not remarked upon as in the first example, or the context is transformed, as in the second, or it is condemned as in the third example. The connection between YHWH, the Lord of the Ostriches, and Na'amah (detailed in Appendix 4), strengthens the possibility of a connection between Ezekiel and *Chaldean Oracles*.

In spite of attestation in early Greek texts and at Qumran, most modern scholars still believe that Ez 1:14 is a gloss. I submit that Ezekiel 1:14 is not a gloss. It betrays "magical" content in an angelological context and may have been excised from the MT for this reason. Scholars agree that Ezekiel 10, where the "living beings" are called *cherubim*, clearly expresses angelological content. The fact that verse 14 in chapter 10 which introduces the face of a cherub is also absent from the OG, thereby removing the blatant mythological evidence of God's angelic activity in a context understood at that stage as pagan, indicates that the rabbis did their best to keep this knowledge hidden, hence the presence in their commentaries of such phrases as "it is not permitted to consider this verse." The absence of Ez 10:14 in the OG reconstruction strengthens the suspicion that a conservative translator had a hand in the Greek versions that do not contain these two key verses. However, Halperin and most other scholars suggest that the angelic activity only commences in chapter 10. If so, v. 14 of chapter 1 with its clear angelic activity, must be a later addition. I suggest that upon close reading it becomes apparent that in Ezekiel 1, angelic activity is already being described, even without verse 14. Newsom (1998:353) notes that in the twelfth *Sabbath Song* 4Q405 Frg. 20 ii line 11,

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Ezekiel 1 and 10. If their origin could be ascertained this would help. If the four-winged Egyptian image in Fig 3. could be definitely connected to the *Iynges/Genies* as described by Keel (1977:256, 257), it would strengthen this argument.

מתהלכים refers back to Ez 1:13 (συστρεφομένων in the OG), where the participle describes the movement of the fiery substance seen among the *Hayyot*.[37] The recurrence of this word in the highly developed angelological context of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* confirms that Ez 1:13 is inherently angelological in its content, and that the angelologically laden verse 1:14 belongs with it. The issue of the original presence or absence of Ezekiel 1:14 is crucial to the understanding of the source of Jewish angelology. If chapter 1 is read without verse 14, why the stress about the living beings not turning? I contend that the "not turning" was to make a distinction between associated and current "magical" or at least divinatory practices in the social context from which this text was produced, and that because of the onslaught of Hellenism, the translators who eliminated Ezekiel 1:14 in some of the Greek copies, were by that time too threatened by the similarity between pagan or foreign "magical" or divinatory practice and the basic process of God's angelic activity, so they eliminated this key verse.

Mach (2000a:235) notes that the definition of "magic" depends on "the religio-cultural framework for which and within which it is defined", and that "a similar limitation might be true for 'mysticism'. ... It is mainly the Jewish-Christian tradition that has rejected any human attempt to force the deity to any kinds of deeds as 'magic'". He recognises that within the Jewish and Christian tradition magic and mystic are firmly tied together, but also states that "we have the apocalyptic beginning and the 'mystical' end (in the later *Hekhalot* tradition); we lack the evidence for the transitional stages". I suggest that the evidence lies in the Jewish and hellenistic angelological texts, some of which have been investigated in this dissertation. Of necessity, because of the nature of this investigation, this dissertation has encompassed a very broad range of cultural contexts, which inevitably resulted in limitations. Thus I suggest that further work on two fronts is needed: broadening the range even further to investigate more pseudepigraphical and apocryphal texts for the angelological motifs identified in this dissertation, but also studying the texts of this dissertation and other biblical texts in more depth.

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[37] LEH (2003:599) translate συστρέφω in Ez 1:13 as "to move to and fro"; but their definition of the same word in Jer 23:19 to whirl around as with a sling, would be an interesting element in Ez 1:14 in view

THE OUTCOME OF JEWISH ANGELOLOGY

It appears that over the eight hundred year time-span that this dissertation covers, Jewish angelology indeed originated in polytheistic ideas of the Divine Council, combined with Egyptian solar worship. New cultural contacts brought on by political changes such as the Babylonian exile and the onset of Hellenism stimulated new ways of thinking about mediation between God and mankind. The advent of Christianity forced a reconciliation between polytheism and monotheism - one that was unacceptable to the rabbis. Ironically the new monotheism of Christianity can only be understood in terms of a nuanced view of ancient polytheistic ideas mediated through Jewish angelology. The intellectual milieu of Alexandria during the first century CE saw a further development in the emergence of Neoplatonic explanations of angelic mediation between God and mankind, which were appropriated by Gnostics and monotheistic Pagans.

Jewish history seems to be a continuous process of "push and pull". The stimulus to change and new growth was continually countered by an action of conservation - pulling back to the old ways. The first Temple was destroyed and Ezekiel showed a way forward to a new paradigm in which God was no longer enclosed in the Temple but eternally present on his throne in heaven, safe from political visicitudes. Nehemiah tried to return to the old ways and rebuilt the temple, but soon the new stimulus of Hellenism multiplied the many facets of Jewish faith. By the time the second Temple was destroyed, Christianity and Gnosticism had already started to undermine the attempt by early Judaism at centralised control. Political forces once again forced the rabbis to muster their formidable strength and at Javneh they effected what was to be a major breakthrough; they anchored Judaism to all that was left for them - the *Torah*. However, the Jewish brilliance was the result of the eclectic application of both Egyptian and Hellenistic elements in their angelology. It was this seminal mixture in the syncretistic Hellenistic context which mediated Christianity.

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of the connection with Hekate's top.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

MONOTHEISM AND YAHWEH

According to the Ugaritic texts the function of Creator of the world and the King of the gods originally belonged specifically to El. Handy (1994:176,177) describes the four hierarchical levels in Syro-Palestinian mythology. The first level consists of the deity El (or his equivalents) and Asherah. The second level consists of the active deities or patron gods, for example Baal, and the third, the artisan gods, for example Kothar-wa-Khasis. The lowest level consists of the messenger-gods, who have no independent volition, which Handy equates with the "angels" of the Bible. Smith (2001a:49) points out that in Israel by the 8th century the first and second tiers described by Handy (cf. n. 24) had already collapsed due to the equating of El with Yahweh, who originally belonged to the second tier, as evidenced in Psalm 82. The Yahweh cult was carried into Canaan (Syro-Phoenicia) by the last wave of immigration of Israelites, and Israelite immigration took place over centuries (Kraus 1989:82-85). Van der Toorn (1999:914) notes that although Yahweh was worshipped among the Israelites before 1000 BCE, he did not become the national god until the beginning of the monarchic era, as evidenced in the profusion of theophoric personal names at that time.

Eissfeldt (1956:33) observes that El apparently did not have any significance for the Patriarchs until after their entry into Canaan - the Patriarchs' experiences of El, or the various hypostases of the *one* El, are actually all attached to the soil of Canaan (Syro-Phoenicia). The El cult was conceived of as an older form of belief in the true God, and it was through assimilation that the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was identified in his essence with Yahweh. Eissfeldt (1956:26) states that El was never conceived of as a rival of Yahweh, as Baal was. He perceives in Psalm 82, as also at Deut 32:8,9 that there was a time when El/Elyon was an authority acknowledged by and accordingly superior to, Yahweh, and that El's authority meant an enhancement rather than a restriction of the authority of Yahweh. This would explain why there are no traces of polemics against El in the Hebrew Bible. However, by the beginning of the iron age (1250 BCE, Keel and Uehlinger 1998:410), El's role had become largely nominal, and had been taken over by Baal.

Mark Smith (2002a:18, 202) notes that the data in attested sources of Israelite history indicate a pluralism of religious practice in ancient Israel, which sometimes led to conflict about the nature of correct Yahwistic practice. He states that it "is precisely this conflict that produced the differentiation of Israelite religion from its Canaanite heritage during the second half of the monarchy". Van der Toorn (1999:919) also notes that the practical monolatry of Yahweh should not be taken for a strict monotheism. The religious situation in early Israel was not merely one of polytheism, but also of poly-Yahwism, and according to Van der Toorn the Deuteronomic emphasis on the unity of Yahweh must be understood against this background. Keel and Uehlinger state (1998:280) that there is no doubt that both Israel and Judah took for granted that other deities besides Yahweh existed - "there were other daemons, hybrid creatures, powers and forces in addition to Yahweh". They conclude that these powers and authorities were subordinate to Yahweh, mediating the protection and blessing of Yahweh. Van der Toorn (1999:917) points out that along with the name, Yahweh inherited various traits of El. For instance, according to Sass and Uehlinger (1993:278) "it is simply unthinkable that the state religion of Northern Israel, i.e. "official" Yahwism, should not have been affected by the prevalence of solar symbolism in Northern Israel during the eighth century BCE".

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APPENDIX 2

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PTAH, THOTH, KOTHAR, HERMES AND HERMES TRISMEGISTOS.

The Greek name Hermes corresponds to Thoth, the Egyptian god who was the messenger and scribe of the gods as well as the god of death and the afterlife. Thoth was known throughout the history of Egyptian religion but particularly prominent in the Ptolemaic period.[1] The combination of Hermes with Thoth took place early - in the Greek translation the cultic centre of Thoth in Egypt is called Hermapolis. The original Egyptian text of the Hermetic teachings was said to have been engraved on tablets and left in "the land of Seiris" before "the flood", then translated into Greek by a subsequent generation, and eventually kept in Egyptian temples. Hellenistic Jewish tradition made a similar assertion about tablets left in Seiris, but claimed that it was Seth and his descendants who had left and transmitted the record. Classic Gnostic scripture continued this Hermetic-Jewish tradition.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PTAH, THOTH AND HERMES

The following is a summary of the only remaining evidence of the transmission of the connection between Thoth and Hermes.

1. In the 6th century BCE, Sanchuniathon, the Phoenician, refers to Thoth of Egypt as Ptah of Memphis in his *Tyrian Cosmogeny*, which is a mixture of elements from both Phoenician and Egyptian sources, containing elements of the creation myths of Heliopolis (where Atum was said to be the creator), and Memphis (with Ptah as creator).
2. In 100 CE Philo of Biblius, in his Greek *Phoenician History*, equates Ptah of Memphis with Kothar-and-Khasis of Ugarit.
3. In the 4th century CE, Eusebius, in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, approves the veracity of Philo of Biblius's text.
4. In the 5th century CE, Damascius confirms Eusebius's report in his account of a Sidonian cosmogeny by a Phoenician named Mochus.
5. In 1968, Albright (1968:222) states that Damascius's account was "substantially correct".

Allusions confirming this connection in the Ugaritic texts are listed below:- [2]
1) In KTU 1.1 iii 1-10, a god is sent to Memphis - *al Hi-ku-up-ta-ah*, "the city of Ptah", to instruct the craftsman god "Kothar-and-Khasis" to construct a dwelling for Baal. In KTU 1.4 vi 30-35 a fire is kindled and in seven days the creation of Baal's palace, ornaments and utensils from "smelted gold and silver" is complete (Wyatt 2003:106):

> "A fifth and a sixth day, fire burned [in] the house, flames in [the midst of the p]alace.
> Look! On the seventh da[y], the fire was removed from the house, the f[lam]es from the palace.
> The silver had turned into ingots; the gold had been changed into bricks!"

Mullen (1980:134) notes that Kothar performs the same function as Bezeleel and Aholiab who were appointed by Yahweh to construct his tent of meeting and its furnishings (Ex 35:30, 31, 34). Like Solomon's temple, Baal's temple is built of cedars of Lebanon and richly furnished with precious metals, and like Solomon's temple (cf. Isa 6:1-4; 1 Kings 8:27-30; Ps 11:4; 20:3, 7), it is clearly conceived of as a kind of analogue or counterpart of a greater house in heaven (Gibson 1956:14). The "smelted gold and silver" is an important indication of this and is associated with *hasmal*, a mysterious substance said to be an

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[1] He was often represented as a baboon. As early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE the baboon figure of Thoth appears on an Egyptian seal amulet found in Southern Palestine, dating to the Late Bronze Age II (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:80).
[2] References are according to Wyatt (2003:43-106).

amalgum of gold and silver, which is referred to in Ezekiel's throne visions in Ez 1:4,27 and 8:2. According to Albright (1968:200), the temple of Solomon reflects Phoenician culture to a large extent, and Mazar (1990:376-380) noted a direct connection between the cult of Baal-Shamem and the Phoenician Hiram's association with Solomon in planning, building and equipping the Temple in Jerusalem.

2) In KTU 1.2 iii 5-10, Kothar-and-Khasis proceeds to the abode of the supreme creator god El, where Kothar-and-Khasis is instructed to build a palace for prince Yam.

3) In KTU 1.4 vi the divine craftsman Kothar is pictured constructing many elaborate ornaments from "smelted gold and silver", apparently as a gift of appeasement for the goddess Athirat, but believed by some scholars actually intended for El, as they are typical furniture of a Canaanite temple as well as of an Egyptian pharaoh's throne: couch, divine pedestal, inlaid table, bowl, thonged sandals and footstool.[3]

Parallelism in Job 38:36 contributes to the possibility of a fascinating witness to the equating of Hermes with Thoth. Two obscure Hebrew words* in the text quoted below, of which the meaning appears to have been unknown or suppressed by the LXX translators, but which may well be the names of Thoth and Hermes, occur in parallel in the context of wisdom:

MT: מי־שׁת *בטחות חכמה   או מי־נתן *לשׂכוי בינה

LXX (v.37): "Τίς δὲ ὁ ἀριθμῶν νέφη σοφίᾳ, οὐρανὸν δε εἰς γῆν ἔκλινε,"

The NRSV translation reads "Who has put wisdom in the clouds* or given understanding to the mists*". Marvin Pope in his commentary on Job (1973:290), accepts בטחות as a reference to Thoth. This Hebrew form of the name for Thoth corresponds closely to the form of the name that prevailed in the 18th Dynasty (1550-1307 BCE) when Thoth was a prominent figure, and his name spread to Phoenicia. Pope (1973:302) confirms the connection of שׂכוי to the Coptic name *souchi* for the planet Mercury (equivalent to Hermes). The LXX of Job 38:37b, "and has bowed the heaven to the earth" (οὐρανὸν δὲ εἰς γῆν ἔκλινε), may reflect the LXX translator's understanding at that time of Hermes as the messenger ἄγγελος who connects heaven to earth via his mediation between the two.[4] Bernal (1987:144) notes that טחות in this context was "filled with knowledge by the Lord" and therefore must have been perceived at this stage as a sage and epitome of wisdom, not a god.

Herodotus (born ca.485 BCE) stated that many religious usages were borrowed by the Greeks from the Egyptians. Shoucri (2001:118) claims that the philosophy of Thoth had a tremendous impact on the shaping of the Mediterranean civilization, and that many aspects of Platonism are a form of neo-Egyptian, so that it is difficult to distinguish between what is Neoplatonism and what is Neo-Egyptianism because Thoth influenced Pythagoras, Plato,[5] and Philo of Alexandria. Fowden contends that Hermeticism was a characteristic product of the Greek-speaking milieu in Egypt (1986:74), and was widely disseminated in the Roman empire. Via this vehicle the *Hermetica* was introduced into a wide field in late antiquity, when people were seeking salvation in many different ways (Copenhaver 1992:lviii). Cyril of Alexandria also makes explicit mention of the translation of the *Hermetica* from the Egyptian into Greek: "This Hermes, him of Egypt ...is always found mindful of the things of Moses ... and he had made mention of him also in his own writings, which he having composed for the Athenians, are called *Hermaica* fifteen Books" (Shoucri 2001:124, n.19). The Neoplatonist Iamblichus stated that the Hermetic books were "translated from Egyptian by men who were not unskilled in Philosophy". He noted that " the opinions found in the writings of the ancient scribes are many and diverse, as also those of the wise still living ... [From]

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[3] The Pharaoh's footstool was symbolic of domination of whatever was under his feet - this is echoed in the Hebrew concept of the kingship of Yahweh in Psalm 110:1 (Kraus 1989:349, cf. fig. 7).

[4] Cf. Ps 144:5 "Bow thy heavens, o Lord, and come down", and Ps 18:9 "He bowed the heavens and came down".

[5] De Vogel (1966:21) describes the scholarly discussion about the dates of 571-567 BCE for Pythagoras' visit to Egypt. Plato (*Phaedrus* 274) attributes to a certain Theuth the invention of "numbers, and arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, ... and most important and especially, writing".

classifications differing from one to the other among the priests of old, Hermes has put everything together in his ... books ..." (Iamblichus *De Mysteriis* 8.1.260-1).

Layton (1987:447) discusses the statement attributed to Manetho that there had been a chain of authority through which Thoth-Hermes had transmitted his teachings to a succession of family members. In most of the texts the revelations of Hermes Trismegistus are presented as a dialogue with one of three pupils: Tat, Asclepius, or Ammon.[6] The Demotic *Book of Thoth* which is basically a dialogue in question and answer form, and seems to date to the second century CE, is an important witness of literary and intellectual exchanges in Egypt between Greek and Egyptian traditions (Mahe 1996:335). Mahe (1996:361) suggests a "pre-Hermetic" teaching, believing that at least a mediated relation is likely between the Greek hermetic writings and the Demotic Book of Thoth.[7] In the Demotic text, Thoth is once called *wr wr wr "the thrice great one"*, i.e. *Trismegas,* a variant of *Trismegistus* (Mahe 1996:353). Hor's title for Thoth is the Demotic equivalent of *megistou kai megistou theo megalou Hermou*, the earliest surviving instance of the triple form of the god's title. This foreshadows the later Greek title *Trismegistos*, the name given to Hermes as author of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

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[6] According to Augustine (*De Civitate Dei* VII, 26), Asclepius was the grandson of the great Greek god of the same name, and Tat was likewise the grandson of Thoth, who was identified at that time with the Roman deity Mercurius, the same as the Greek god Hermes (Martin 1987:146).

[7] Mahe gives evidence of the connection between Thoth and Hermes at least one or two centuries before the appearance of the earliest Greek philosophical Hermetica as follows: shortly before the year 200 BCE Hor, a servant of Isis, was born in the Delta town of Hermopolis (not the great Hermopolis in the South). In 166 BCE he was told in a dream to follow Thoth and no other. Hor dictated, or in some cases inscribed, the Demotic ostraca that record a reform of the ibis cult, which was in honour of Thoth, but had become corrupted. This suggests a comparison with the Greek Hermetic writings, which are also teaching dialogues between Hermes-Thoth and his disciples.

APPENDIX 3. TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS FOR כעין, דמות AND מראה IN EZ 1 AND 10, AND DAN 10:6

EZ 1		כעין	דמות	מראה
1.14	v.4	ὡς ὅρασις		
1.19	v.5		ὡς ὁμοίωμα	
1.23			ὁμοίωμα	
1.36	v.7	ὡς +ἐξαστράπτων+		
1.60	v10		ὁμοίωσις	
1.92	v.13		-	
1.94				ὅρασις
1.97				ὡς ὄψις
1.110	v.14			- ὡς εἶδος (C. Alex.)
1.120	v.16			τὸ εἶδος
1.123		ὡς εἶδος		
1.125			ὁμοιώμα	
1.128				-
1.189	v.22		ὁμοιώμα	
1.192		ὡς ὅρασις		
1.239	v.26			ὡς ὅρασις
1.241			ὁμοιώμα	
1.246			ὁμοιώμα	
1.247				ὡς εἶδος
1.252	v.27	ὡς ὄψιν		
1.254				ὁράσεως
1.257				-
1.260				-
1.264				ὁράσεως
1.267				ὡς ὅρασιν
1.273	v.28			ἡ ὅρασις
1.276				ἡ ὅπασις
1.276		ὁ ὁμοιώματος		
EZ 10				
2.8	v.1			ὁμοιώμα
2.9			-	
2.117	v.9	ὡς ὄψις		
2.121	v.10		ὁμοίωμα	
2.247	v.21		ὁμοίωμα	
2.252	v.22		ὁμοίωσις	
DAN 10·6				
4.15				ὡσεὶ ὅρασις (OG)
				ὡσεὶ ὅρασις (θ)
4.22		ὡσεὶ χαλκὸς ἐξαστράπτων (OG)		
		ὡς ὅρασις χαλκοῦ Στίλβοντος (Θ)		

SUMMARY

1. דמות is always translated with some form of ὁμοίωμα (10/10 times).

2. מראה is translated with ὁμοίωμα once, ὡς ὄψις is used once, ὡς εἶδος is used 3 times, the remaining 9 times ὅρασις is used.

3. כעין is translated with all of the above.

4. Note 1.36 (Ez 1:7) and 4.22 (Dan:6).

APPENDIX 4.

A POSSIBLE CONNECTION BETWEEN IYNGES, "LORD OF THE OSTRICHES", HERMES AND HEKATE SOTEIRA.

The following factors suggest that there may be a connection between Yahweh, the Lord of the Ostriches, Hekate Soteira and Hermes:

1)   A new type of image, portraying a single ostrich appeared at the time of transition from the tenth to the ninth century on scaraboids, both in Israel and Judah, the "Lord of the Ostriches" (Fig 6). Keel suggests that the connection with ostriches points to the fact that the inhabitants thought of this deity as at home in the steppe region of Palestine - just like the god Yahweh, who originally came from Southeast Palestine (northwest Arabia), the region that served as home for the Shazu. In ancient texts such as Jdg 5:4f., Deut 33:2, Hab 3:3,7 and Isa 63:1 Yahweh is connected with Seir, Paran, Edom, Teman, Midian and the Sinai. The ostrich represents not only a deserted, dangerous and sinister world, but also a numinous power that commands respect and honor because it can survive mysteriously at the edge of habitable land (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:182). Keel and Uehlinger (1998:385) wonder whether "Yahweh of Teman" and the "Lord of the Ostriches" both have their roots in one and the same figure, and if so, for how long were they understood to be identical or at least related to one another?

2) A piece of handle found at Tel-en-Nasbeh that bears two ostriches has a little sun disk on the neck of one ostrich (Fig. 6). Uehlinger (1998:140) states that it is not clear whether this suggests some general, numinous presence, or is supposed to depict a particular solar deity. I suggest that the long-necked ostrich and long-necked ("wryneck") iynx may have been associated with each other either at the time when Ezekiel was written or translated into Greek.

3) According to Psellus, Hecate's "magic wheel" was a golden disk embedded with a sapphire and inscribed with magical characters. By spinning this wheel, the transcendent *Iynges* were "called on" to participate in the Chaldean rites (Majercik 1989:215). Johnston (1990:21) submits evidence to show that Hekate's role as intermediary between the Sensible and Intelligible Realms is an extension of her well known role as goddess associated with the passage through crossroads and liminal spaces. This is reminiscent of the "Lord of the Ostriches" association with the borderline between habitable and non-habitable world, and of Hermes who has a similar association. "Endia" is often used to describe Hekate[8] as well as Hermes (Theocr. *Id*. 25.4), because both are associated with roads, especially where three meet.

4) The *Iynges* are described in the *Chaldean Oracles* as "Powers of the Father". The movement of the Iynges according to *Chaldean Oracles* Frg. 76 is their "leap" into the world as fiery entities, and they are also represented as having the nature of lightning. Their movement is a circular motion away from and back towards the "Father" (ἀχοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι, Frg. 87)**,** and it is this that constitutes their "thinking". In the section describing the messengers called Iy*nges* in the *Chaldean Oracles*, the term στρόφαλος "magic wheel" (Majercik 1989:127), is used in connection with whirling wheels.

Thus all four these figures which are associated with boundaries and liminal spaces (Yahweh, the Lord of the Ostriches, Hekate Sotiera and Hermes), convey otherworldly (? divine) concepts and all have a revelatory or divinatory function.

A fascinating indication of the connecting link between the *Chaldean Oracles* and Israelite type of divinatory practice is perceptible in the traditional Jewish exegesis of קִין in Gen 4:22 as discussed by Papoutsakis (2004:25-36), concerning the association of Naamah ("pleasant") sister of Tubal-cain (Gen 4:22) with the fall of the angels in Gen 6:1-4. Papoutsakis identifies Jewish exegesis as the foundation of the identification of "the sons of God" with the Sethites and "the daughters of Men" with the Cainites by referring to the following examples:

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[8] The earliest known statue of Hekate dates to 430 BCE.

a) "... she sang to the timbrel in honour of idolatry" (Bereshit Rabbah 23.22).

b) "... she was the mistress of קינין and songs" (Ps.-Jonathan, ed. Clarke 1984:6).

c) "... she was the creator of קינין and songs" (Fragment-Targum, Klein (ed.) 1980:48).

d) "... the inventor of קינין and songs" (Neofiti, Diez Macho (ed.) 1968:25).

Papoutsakis (2004:27) notes that "the exact shade of קינין in the Aramaic of these passages has been ignored by all translators except Diez Macho. The Hebrew meaning of קינה = "dirge" has been imposed by the others, whereas the Aramaic term had the neutral or even positive meaning "alluring or sweet songs". Having established this point, Papoutsakis goes on to suggest that in the context of Naamah's involvement in the seduction of the "sons of God",[9] the Aramaic versions ascribed consciously to hellenistic associations of the Greek sirens who lured passing sailors to their death with their sweet song (*Odyssey* XII).[10]

The Aramaic term for "ostrich" (נעמא) is a homonym for Tubal-cain's sister Naamah. In the following passages in which the Hebrew for ostrich יענה (*struthio camelus* (Holladay 1988:138)) appears in the construct form בנות יענה corresponding to Aramaic בנת נעמיין (Targum Job has תנעמיתא): Isa. 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; Job 30:29; Jer 27(50):39 and Mic 1:8 (Papoutsakis 2004:30). In every instance נעמיין has been translated in the LXX as σειρῆνες.[11] Papoutsakis's conclusion is that this gross mistranslation of Hebrew "ostriches" with Greek "sirens" in the Targumim are simply late records of an early tradition that has been encouraged by the context of Gen 4:19-22 (on the Cainites association with music). This tradition had already developed before the Septuagint was undertaken under the exegetical tradition about Naamah, and that this is reflected in LXX due to paronomasia. Papoutsakis (2004:31) concludes that "Naamah is concealed behind all Sirens in all the LXX passages". I propose that there may have been another, or at least additional reason, in that the evidence of the iconography of the northern kingdom during the late bronze age, in which ostriches are associated not only with the sun, but possibly with *Iynges*, had to be hidden by the conservative Israelites. I would go further and suggest that in the light of the Greek word for ostrich (στρουθός), a possible association of the ostrich with Naamah because of the oracular sounds made by the long-necked bird (*Iynx*) when spun in theurgic rites, (especially if there is an association with στρέφω),[12] is significant, because this is an activity forbidden by the conservative Jewish authorities.

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[9] In *I Enoch* 19:2 "Sirens" occurs again: "And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens" (Nickelsburg 2001:276). The Ethiopian version has "And their wives, having led astray the angels of heaven, will become peaceful" (19:2). Knibb (1978:106, n. 19) reports that Gr Pan has "will become Sirens". Eth derives from a corrupt Greek *Vorlage* (ὡς εἰρηναῖαι instead of εἰς σειρῆνας).

[10] Rahner (1963:357) demonstrated that the Septuagint betrays the translators' familiarity with Aramaic, because there are Greek transliterations of Aramaic words which mirror the original Hebrew terms, and these renderings cannot be explained unless the intermediary Aramaic term is identified (Papoutsakis 2004:31).

[11] "Siren, demon of the dead living in the desert (used to translate Hebr. words meaning ostrich, desert owl, and jackal", Is 13:21; "mourning like that of the daughters of sirens or ostriches" Mi 1:8. (LEH 2003:550).

[12] Pass. to be whirled, to spin round and round; or στρωφάω, Ion. Frequent. of στρέφω - to turn constantly, keep whirling or winding - LS 655. Johnston (1990:90, 103-108) lists στρόφαλος for Hekate's top (Johnston 1990:90), στροφάλιγγι, στροφάλιγξ for circular motion, and ῥοιζέω (whirring) ἐνθρῶσκον (leap: "leap" into the spheres and then "return" to him). Also see Johnston (1990:101, n. 31).

APPENDIX 5. A PTOLEMAIC GNOSTIC GEM (fig. 5). [13]

This Ptolemaic amulet/Gnostic gem dated to ca. 200-100 BCE, provides additional evidence of Egyptian influences in the syncretistic development of Jewish angelology. The following discussion refers to both the inscription and the line engraving on the reverse of the amulet. The translation with notes is indebted to Simone Michel (2001:15,16) and Spiegelberg (1922:225-6). The inscription on the amulet has been deciphered by them as follows:

[1] EIC BAIT (ἑις βαιτ) One is Bait
[2] EIC ΑΘΩΡ (ἑις Αθωρ) One is Hathor
[3] MIA TWN BIA (μια των βια) One is their power
[4] EIC DE AKWRI (ἑις δε Aκωρι) One also is Akwri
[5] XAIPE PATER KOCMOY (χαιρε πατερ κοσμου) Be praised, Father of the World.
[6] XAIRE **ΤΡΙΜΟΡΦΕ** ΘEOS (χαιρε τριμορφε θεος) Be praised, God in three forms.

1. *"ONE IS BAIT"*.
The name of the falcon-headed figure Bait is a late Greek derivation from *bik*, falcon (Morenz 1960:350). Spiegelberg (1922:225) spells it *bjk*, Copt. *beg* (Sahidic); *beth* (Bohairic), and refers to Horapollo's use of the word **Βαιηθ** for Horus. He also refers to the form **Αρβαιθος** = *Hr - bj*k which he reads as "Horus the falcon". Westendorf (1977:30) lists the Bohairic Coptic word **ⲃⲏⲭ, ⲃⲉⲭⲓ** as masc. for falcon, **ⲃⲏⲥ** as Sahidic Coptic. He also records the form **Βαιηθ** (referring to Recueil 22,162).

Michel is in agreement with Spiegelberg that the depiction of the god Bait seated on a throne on the left of the amulet is Horus the falcon. From the beginning of recorded Egyptian religion the pharaoh was identified with Horus (Hornung 1992:1713).[14] The god Bait is depicted with the typical emblem of male gods, the *Was* sceptre which he holds in his left hand. On his head is a sun-disk and *uraeus*. Protective powers such as a vulture or falcon, or the winged sun-disk flanked by *uraei,* usually hovered above depictions of royalty (Hornung 1992:1727). The celestial-solar character of deities was often emphasised by the addition of solar discs (Mullen 1980:84). Even in Palestine *uraei* and falcons were virtually omnipresent by c. 925 BCE (Mullen 1980:84). The *uraeus* which the king wore on his forehead was a combination of falcon and sun-god because as falcon the king flew up to the sky in death (Hornung 1992:1725).

The winged *uraeus* snake engraved on this heliotrope gem is drawn in three-quarter aspect and occupies the raised focal point of the triangular composition. There is a sun-disk on its head and an *ankh* hanging from its tail. On the basis of the information detailed below, Michel and Spiegelberg interpret the winged seraph as a deity, and they see this as confirmed because it also has an *ankh* attached to it (which is usually associated with a deity). However, there is another possibility, discussed below.

2. *"ONE IS HATHOR"*.
According to Spiegelberg the figure seated on a throne on the right must be Hathor, represented in the late syncretistic time with a frog head.[15] Here Hathor holds a papyrus sceptre in her right hand - a definite

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[13] Br. Mus. Inv. G1, EA 56001 (Michel 2001:15).

[14] Throughout Egyptian history attempts were made to express this pictorially, and the prehistoric traditions of gods appearing in purely animal form for instance Horus as a falcon and Hathor as a cow, continued into the Dynastic period (Hornung 1992:1712). The "mixed form" in which a human body is surmounted by an animal head appeared in the Early Dynastic period. Hornung (1992:1716) explains this use to be a result of the consistent Egyptian search for, amongst others, sacred animals as effective mediators between the world of the gods and of men. During the New Kingdom (eighteenth to twentieth Dynasties - 1550 to 1070 BCE) a mixed form of Horus-King, a "king in falcon dress" was created, but every king down to Nectanebo II (360-343), the last king of the 30th Dynasty, was worshipped as a divine falcon (Hornung 1992:1727).

[15] The frog was sacred to Heket the goddess of childbirth who was venerated as the female complement of the creator-god Khnum (Houlihan 2001: III, 563). The four male creator gods worshipped at Hermapolis all

feminine symbol. Possibly this representation as frog-headed is a pointer to her role as fertility goddess, symbolising rebirth. It is not clear whether the object on her head is a sun-disk or a crown. Here Hathor appears to be the feminine counterpart or complement to Horus. According to Michel (2001:16), in this Ptolemaic context where Hathor represents resurrection, Bait represents death, the two together thus representing death and resurrection.

3. *"ONE IS THEIR POWER"*.
Because this phrase follows on directly after Bait and Hathor are mentioned, I understand this statement in terms of Michel's interpretation of their correspondence to death and resurrection, to refer to the unity of the god and goddess, i.e. death and resurrection as one concept, but also in terms of Gen. 1:27b ".... in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them".

4. *"ONE ALSO IS AKORI"*.
According to Spiegelberg AKWRI is a transliteration of the Coptic word for snake ⲀⲔⲰⲢⲒ, but Spiegelberg mentions that this is poorly attested. Michel however accepts Spiegelberg's understanding of AKWRI without qualification or reference. Westendorf (1977:18) lists a Coptic word ⲀϨⲰⲢⲒ as snake.[16]

5. *"BE PRAISED, FATHER OF THE WORLD"*.
This phrase seems to imply that all three the deities mentioned are understood together as one God, the Father of the world. The term "Father" betrays the "underworld of Platonism" i.e. Gnosticsm, *Corpus Hermeticum* or *Chaldean Oracles*. Parallels with the *Chaldean Oracles* are clearly present here, where the "Intellect and Divine Will to which he added a third, pure Love", may be seen to correspond to the three figures depicted on the amulet.

6. *"BE PRAISED, GOD IN THREE FORMS"*.
This appears to confirm that the three figures form one god, in that θεός is nominative singular, and that the power or life is of one unified God. The Amon theology of the Ramesside period conceived of the one God (father of the cosmos) as having as his attributes three "forms" or "appearances" (*hprw* or *baw*), and these three gods are combined and treated as a single being, addressed in the singular (Morenz 1960:255). This phrase also betrays the Chaldean concept of triads discussed in chapter 6 and may be a parallel expression of 5 above. Spiegelberg (1922:227) relegates this amulet to the henotheistic belief in one God but not that he is the only God. He recognises that the mystical oneness of a triad of Egyptian gods is meant by MIA TWN BIA, referring to Gardiner who stated in 1905: "Amon, Re and Ptah, the three principal gods of the Ramesside times, are represented as a trinity in an unity". Spiegelberg is careful to conclude that this hellenistic epigram in its Greek form but Egyptian spirit, is not at all Christian ("seiner griechischen Form agyptischen Geist hellenistischer Art und enthalt nichts Christliches"), but does state (Spiegelberg 1922:227) that this amulet arose from a "Geist" that contributed to the development of the Christian Trinity dogmas (*Trinitätsdogmas*). Morenz (1960:255) goes a little further and interprets this inscription and engraving as a forerunner of early Christian trinitarian thought. Because it originated in the Ptolemaic Period, Michel (2001:15) also interprets the statement, in combination with the three names, as an early documentation of trinitarian thought ("Trinitätsgedankens"). She understands this inscription to imply that the power or life of the three figures, symbolised by falcon, frog and snake, forms a unity ("eine ist ihre Macht"). I concede that the last phrase ΧΑΙΡΕ ΤΡΙΜΟΡΦΕ ΘΕΟΣ could point to the interpretation that three deities are being described, but there are also other ways of understanding this last phrase in this context. It actually only says that God is in three forms, not that God is three deities. There seems to me to be something a little "set apart" about the phrase "One also is Akori".

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had frog heads, symbolic of regeneneration (Andrews 1994:63). In the later dynasties of the New Kingdom the frog hieroglyph was used to write the ritual expression *wekhim ankh:* "repeating life", and because it had the connotation of rebirth, the frog was later adopted by the Christianized Egyptians as a symbol of the resurrection (Wilkinson 1994:107). Frogs as symbolic of new life still appeared in the Coptic Period bearing the text "I am the resurrection" (Andrews 1994:63).

[16] Westendorf (1977:18) and Crum (1939:25) list the Coptic word ⲀϪⲰ viper, as the Egyptian word *wadj.t* the name of the cobra goddess of Buto, which was sometimes depicted as a winged snake. This Egyptian word was eventually simplified to *d.t* = snake. Both Spiegelberg and Michel state that this depiction of the winged snake possibly indicates Uto, the chief goddess of Buto.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE URAEUS AS THE *BA* IN FLIGHT

Michel (2001:15) suggests that the elevated position of the *uraeus* snake is a representation of the *Ba* in flight.[17] The concept of the *Ba* is clearly relevant to the subject of angelology if one considers Traunecker's definition of the plural form *bau* as "a raw, mobile form of energy acting across space, effecting a sort of transfer of energy ... without physical contact". Writings as ritual or as magical spells were also understood as *bau* which constituted words whose effectiveness crossed the boundary between the physical and spiritual realms (Traunecker 2001:23). The *Ba* was able to leave the deceased body at will and to follow the sun-god into the sky (Hornung (1992:1720). In the Old Kingdom, only the king possessed this element, but later it was understood to be an element of every individual's makeup. In the Ptolemaic context of this amulet, it could well concern a private individual, unless the attached *ankh* is meant to symbolise that it is a deity. Deities do not die, so the only other possibility could be that this representation is concerned with the concept of "deification" which was taken up later by the Coptic Christians.

CONCLUSION

When one notes the deliberate way in which AKWPI is separated from the names of the first two mentioned deities, and one keeps in mind Michel's interpretation of the winged *uraeus* as the *ba* flying off into the sky, other interesting possibilities of interpretation which led into the subsequent development of Gnostic thought become apparent. If flight of the *Ba* after death into the sky is represented here, the third form, the winged *uraeus* is not a god in its own right, but the τρίμορφε god is actually only two complementary deities, male and female, death and resurrection, contributed to by the third aspect or form - the *ba* ("spiritual manifestation") of the deceased person, whoever it may be - deity or individual. The connection here to the concept of the ascent of the *ba* after death may involve the concept of ascent and unification of the soul with God, because of the *ankh* attached to the winged *uraeus*, representing life after death in the divine realm. This would express the Gnostic and Neoplatonic idea of the reunification of the soul with God after death, thus in my understanding this Gnostic gem bears possible evidence of a hellenistic link between Pharaonic culture and Egyptian Christianity via Gnosticism and Platonism. Because of the syncretistic cultural context in Alexandria during Philo's time, at very least, the concept of death and immortality of the soul in terms of ascent to heaven in the Neoplatonic sense, could be in evidence here.

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[17] In such a case the winged *uraeus* cannot be interpreted as a deity and another explanation must be sought. Michel translates *Ba* as soul, but Wilkinson (1994:99) suggests that "spiritual manifestation" would be a better rendering, noting that the word *Ba* "can only be understood fully according to context". The *Ka* is usually translated as "soul" or "spirit", but its basic meaning is "life-power" or "vital essence" (Lorton 1999:143). To die implied that one had gone to one's *ka* (Wilkinson 1994:49). However, a fine distinction must be made between the *ba* and the *akh*. Traunecker (2001:24) defines the *akh* as the luminous spirit of a dead person - "a perfect (but entirely amoral) transcendent form of existence". The Coptic word derived from *akh* means "spirit, demon". In the Pyramid texts the deceased king becomes a celestial *akh*-spirit, whereas Traunecker (2001:23) defines the *ba* as "an element of mobility that enabled passage from one realm to another .... peculiar to a given individual".

FIGURES

Fig. 1. Seals demonstrating the connection of Egyptian Solar Worship to the Israelite/Judaite Royal Throne (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:255, 275).

a-c) Typical Judean 4-winged *uraei*, dating to the end of the 8th C BCE demonstrate that a clearly Egyptian religious protective symbol is being used (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:273).

d) A falcon-headed lion bearing the double crown of Egypt and the *ankh* from the N. Kingdom of Israel, 8th C. (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:256).

e) The four-winged scarab, holding solar balls with its feet, from the palace area of Samaria, was especially typical of 8th C Samaria, and is interpreted by Keel and Uehlinger (1998:256) as the rising sun.

f) Jar handle found at Lachish, dating to Hezekiah's reign, bearing the inscription " for the king" (see chapter 2, paragraph 2.2, example 3).

Late Babylonian and early Achaemenid four-winged sphinxes ("porters of heaven")
support the winged disc of Ahuramazda.

Fig. 2. Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seal,
current in Babylon during Ezekiel's Exile.

From c.859-c.681 BCE, Assyria became the dominant Near Eastern power. The smaller city-states, amongst others Babylonia and Palestine were incorporated into a closely knit provincial system, and for a while this included lower Egypt. From 605-581 BCE   Babylon ruled the Assyrian empire and held it under the leadership of Nebuchadnezzar II. Ezekiel is believed to have been in exile in Babylon during this time, and in these examples one may perceive some of the influences in the imagery of his visions in Ezekiel 1 and 10. (The winged sun-disk was appropriated by the god Ashur during this period (Wiseman D J, Cylinder Seals of W. Asia)).
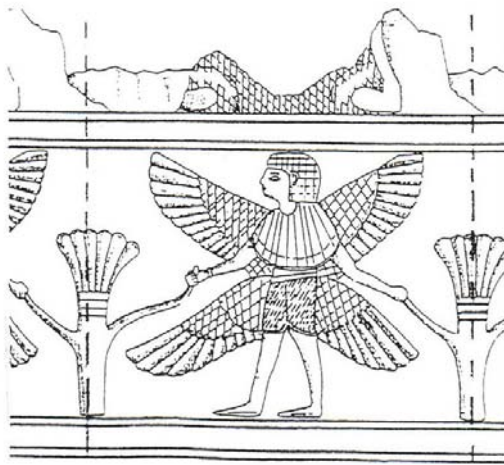
Fig. 3. Four-winged male figure from Hazor

(Keel and Uehlinger 1998:195). Cf. the description of Iynges as four-winged divine beings in chapters 3, 6 and 8, and see the Excursus on Winged Creatures in 3.1.2.1.

Fig. 4. Akhenaten and his family offering to the Aten.
Note hands on the ends of the sun rays (see 6.3.3.3).

Fig. 5. Ptolemaic Gnostic Gem, 2nd –1st C BCE (Michel 2001:15). See Appendix 5.

Below, winged *uraei* (Keel 1977:76). See the Excursus on Winged Creatures (3.1.2.1)

Fig. 6. The Lord of the Ostriches

Above: Seals depicting the Lord of the Ostriches, 1000 to 900 BCE.
Note sun disk at the neck of the ostrich on the left. These depictions appear scattered over the entire inland region of Israel/Judea.

Below: Late Assyrian Cylinder Seal (c. 1000-612 BCE). B.M. 102397.
(Wiseman, Cylinder Seals of Western Asia, p. 77).

Fig. 7. **Painting from the tomb of Kenamun, 15th C. BCE.**
The feet of Pharaoh Amenhophis II rest on a footstool made up of fettered enemies.

καὶ τῇ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ
περιαγομένῃ κινήσει πέριξ αὐτὰς ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν
μὲν ἔξω, τὸν δ' ἐντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν κύκλων.

And He com-
passed them about with the motion that revolves
in the same spot continually, and He made the one
circle outer and the other inner.

The accompanying figure indicates how
the two strips were applied to each other.
The place where they were originally laid
together across each other is, in the diagram,
on the further side, and is marked by a dot:
the place where the two ends of each band
are joined together, and where the two bands
are themselves again joined together is, in
the diagram, on the near side, and is indicated
by a line on the outer band. The second place of meeting is,
as the dotted line indicates, immediately opposite to the first.
The outer band, as Timaeus goes on to say, is the Revolu-
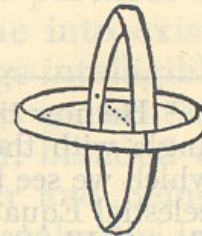tion of the Same, and the inner the Revolution of the Other.

Fig. 8 **Top: Greek text from Plato,** *Timaeus* **36C with trans. by Bury (1929:71).**

Bottom: With the aid of a diagram, Bury explains Plato's description of the construction of "one circle outer and the other inner" (*Timaeus*** 36C, Bury 1929:71). Cf. Ezekiel 1:16b, "a wheel within a wheel".**

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